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UPPSALA UNIVERSITETS ÅRSSKRIFT 1919.

FILOSOFI, SPRÅKVETENSKAP OCH HISTORISKA VETENSKAPER. 2.

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STUDIES  
ON  
UNCOMPOUNDED  
PERSONAL NAMES  
IN  
OLD ENGLISH

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INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

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1919.



## Preface.

Several critics have recently drawn attention to the tendency shown in the works of certain scholars to explain the first members of English place-names as OE personal names, without regard to whether the alleged name is recorded in OE or not<sup>1</sup>. This "epidemic of eponymitis" is, of course, above all due to the fact that in England this question has not been made the subject of a systematic investigation, as it has been, for instance, in Scandinavia; on the whole English place-onomatology has chiefly resulted in county monographs, whereas works dealing with general problems are remarkably few. That, under such circumstances, the handy expedient of interpreting an obscure member as a personal name is often made use of, is the more excusable since a reliable OE name book is still lacking. The deficiencies attached to SEARLE'S *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* are but too well known<sup>2</sup>.

It would seem, then, that both in order to increase our knowledge of OE personal nomenclature as such, and also for the sake of future research in the field of place-names, one of the most urgent desiderata of English onomatology is that the OE personal names should be subjected to a critical examination, and especially those names which are not of the dithematic type, such as *Wulfstan*, *Aelfric*, *Beaduhild*. Names of the latter type are by far the more common and the more easily identified, even when they appear in ME or NE disguise<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> SEDGEFIELD, *Place-names of Cumberland* p. XXVI, GABRIELSON, *Svensk Hum. Tidskr.* 1917 p. 146, BJÖRKMAN, *E. St. LII* p. 179, EKWALL, *Namn och Bygd* 1918 p. 176. Cf. also WYLD, *Place-names of Lancashire* p. 10, MAWER, *M. L. R.* XIV p. 233 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Athenæum* 22. 1. 1898, p. 110, and *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1900 p. 778 ff. (E. SCHRÖDER).

<sup>3</sup> In OE there probably also existed a few names which, though compound, differ from the *Wulfstan* type. It might perhaps have been desirable to include those too in this treatise, but since they coincide formally with the dithematic names, I have omitted them here. Cf. *Socin* p. 210 ff.

The present work, however, forms but the first part of such an investigation of the uncompounded personal names in OE, inasmuch as it comprises only those personal names which occur independently. Thus place-names have not been taken into account. This considerable curtailment of the material must naturally give a partly incorrect idea of the names in question, but in order to obtain fairly reliable criteria for determining what really is a personal name in an OE place-name, it has been thought necessary first to examine from various points of view the nature of those names which are undoubtedly personal names<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it will be appropriate to draw attention to a phenomenon which, as far as I know, has not been mentioned elsewhere. WYLD, *Place-names of Lancashire* p. 9 f., says: "In fact in many cases the OE place-names have hardly reached the stage of becoming full-blown compounds or place-names in our sense. They are mere designations of particular fields ditches, brooks, trees, walls, wells, and so on." As instances of such boundary indications he quotes from KCD 'the old wall', 'the withered thorn', 'the new enclosure', 'the old ditch', 'the old byres'. "Those, and thousands of others are place-names in the making." The correctness of this is confirmed in, a striking way by the fact that in charters, dating from the whole of the OE period, we very often find that when such a 'place-name in the making' occurs twice in succession, the second time only the second member is repeated, e. g. (BCS:) ... *to þam haran stane, of þam stane* ... 356; *to þære ealdan dune, andlang dune* ib.; *on þane blacan pyt, of þan pytte* 552; *to lytlan crundelle, of þæm crundele* 756; *on þone langan þorn, of þam þorne* 903; *on þa haran apuldre, of þære apuldre* ib.; *on þa ealdan dic, of þære dic* ib.; *on þa seocan aac, of þære æc* ib.; (KCD:) *on þone bradan mere, of þam mere* 751; *on þa niwan dic, of þære dic* 775. Now it is to be observed that this holds good not only of such boundary indications as those quoted by WYLD, but also of those in which a personal name is contained, e. g. (BCS:) ... *of Aepelmodes wudu, þonne suþ be wuda oð Eddes dene, of þære dene*.... 670; *on Wærmundes treow, of þam treowe* 756; *to Beorhtnafes stane, of þam stane* 879; *to Cynulfes treowe, of þam treowe* 1072; *on Wulfan dune, of þære dune* 120; *to Tatanbeorge, and of þane beorge* 708; *on Eobban slæd, of þam slæde* 903; *to Grimes dic, andlang dic* 985; *to Lulles beorge, of þam beorge* 1072; *on Duddes dene, of þære dene* 1121. It is obvious that we are not concerned here with real place-names but with indications made for the occasion. It seems desirable that investigators of place-names should notice the difference between such formations and stabilized place-names more carefully than has been formerly the case. In this work, however, I have not taken into account any instances in which the personal name forms part of a place-name, because it is often difficult to decide how 'full-blown' a place-name is. Sometimes it has certainly been rather tempting



Only native names are dealt with. Thus I exclude names which can be proved to be 1. Celtic, 2. Scandinavian, 3. Continental-Germanic, 4. Romance, 5. Scriptural or Classical. Thanks to the excellent inquiries of BJÖRKMAN and FORSSNER, the separation of Scandinavian and Continental-Germanic names has been easy enough<sup>1</sup>; neither have the two last categories presented any difficulties. Concerning Celtic names, on the contrary, the non-Celtologist is in a rather awkward position. KEMBLE's invitation to students of Celtic philology to examine the occurrence of such names in OE<sup>2</sup> has hitherto fallen on deaf ears, and apart from a few short papers and scattered items in periodicals, there hardly exists any other guidance than HOLDER's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*. Moreover, certain names may equally well be Germanic as Celtic<sup>3</sup>, and this is probably the case with several of those given below. Yet, whenever I have been unable to verify their non-English origin, I have included them here; to eliminate those which are undoubtedly Celtic will be a task for experts.

The nationality of the bearer cannot always be taken as an absolute proof of that of the name<sup>4</sup>.

Since my chief aim has been to investigate the historical nomenclature in OE, I have omitted the names of non-Anglo-Saxons mentioned in *Beowulf*, *Widsith* and the minor epic fragments, though they often appear in a genuinely OE form. For a true understanding of those names an extensive analysis of Germanic sagas is necessary<sup>5</sup>, and that does not fall within the range of this treatise; besides, the names in question have always attracted the keenest interest on the part of scholars. If they also occur as independent names in England they are, of course, discussed<sup>6</sup>.

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to adduce such loose formations in support of an otherwise scantily recorded personal name, but since they are, after all, more properly treated of in connection with place-names, I have thought it best to leave them out altogether.

<sup>1</sup> As a rule names of this provenance are also excluded when they appear in an Anglicized form.

<sup>2</sup> KEMBLE, *Names* p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. KLUGE, *Urgermanisch* p. 8, COLLITZ, *J. E. G. Ph.* VI p. 253 ff., WERLE, *Die ält. germ. Personennamen* p. 13, SCHÖNFELD p. XIII.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CHADWICK, *Heroic age* p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. GRAPE, *Studier* p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> A list of all these names is found on p. 175. — On the use of heroic names in England cf. BINZ, *Beitr.* XX p. 141 ff., CHADWICK, *Heroic age* p. 64 ff.

Some of the bearers of those names are real, historical personages, though they lived in pre-OE times, but this is exceedingly doubtful in the case of several of the persons met with in the earliest OE literature. Now it is certainly "unreasonable to take the view that characters should be regarded as fictitious, unless they can be proved to be historical"<sup>1</sup>, but as an example of a personage who is much debated in this respect we need only mention *Hengist* to realise that, at least for one who is not a professional historian, it is impossible to decide where in the oldest parts of the Chronicle and the genealogies the boundary is to be drawn between historical and non-historical names. Some of the genealogical names, especially among the ancestors of Woden, are of a mythical nature, some are also found in Widsith or other Germanic epics. Yet, in order not to be guilty of partiality I have included all such uncompounded names, except, of course, names of gods (*Woden*, *Dunor*). In the summary given on p. 176 ff. those which are undoubtedly fictitious have, however, been left out; in the name lists these are denoted by square brackets. Such exclusions are made very sparingly.

As a terminus ad quem I have chosen 1066. The Norman Conquest, which radically transformed the Anglo-Saxon community, also brought about a thorough change in English nomenclature<sup>2</sup>. This was, of course, not an immediate one, and we have no doubt to regard the majority of the names in Domesday Book as OE names, since the bearers of those belonged to the generation that had already got their names when William I. conquered England. Besides, most of the names in DB quoted below are taken from 'Ellis B', which comprises persons etc. entered in DB as holding lands in the time of King Edward the Confessor (and during later years anterior to the formation of the survey). An investigation into the OE stock of names cannot, therefore, neglect to take into account this very important document, though it was not written until 1086. As a rule the principle has otherwise been followed that only pre-Conquest sources are cited.

Real bynames of the type Brihtric *reada*, Godric *finc*, are not included, unless they also occur in independent use, e. g. (Eadberht) *Præn*. In those cases where a name, such as *Hwita*,

<sup>1</sup> CHADWICK, Heroic age p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. FREEMAN, Norm. Conq. V p. 556 ff.



*Leofa*, is also found as a byname, though referring to another person, this is mentioned.

Patronymics functioning as such are excluded.

Concerning the sources employed a few special remarks are necessary<sup>1</sup>.

When the same charter is published in several collections, generally only one is quoted; thus for the time before 975 BCS and after that KCD<sup>2</sup>. My intention is not, of course, to give a complete list of various readings, and therefore as a rule only those forms are included which occur in the main texts chosen by the editors. This holds good not only of charters but also of other sources.

As is well known, the OE charters are edited in a very unsatisfactory way<sup>3</sup>; the dating especially is unreliable and often obviously misleading. Even when the charters have been subjected to ME falsification, GRAY BIRCH leaves that unremarked, and a revision of the collections in this respect is urgently needed. This is, however, a task that requires a scholar's undivided attention, and in order not to be continually interrupted by detailed argumentations as to the age of documents, I have been forced entirely to desist from discussing those problems. Thus the editors are solely answerable for the dates given for every charter; often, particularly in the case of more doubtful forms, I have mentioned that KEMBLE stars the charter in question as spurious.

Of the numerous uncompounded names found on coins many are extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to decipher<sup>4</sup>. Since, however, the primary material has not been accessible to me, and, besides, as GRUEBER p. C has pointed out, "the right reading of the name upon a coin is more a question of epigraphy than of philology", I have had to rely on the conjectures of the experts, though I have now and then made some reservation with regard to their readings. Contrary to the charters, the OE coins are, as is known, 'edited' in an excellent way. In some cases below we

<sup>1</sup> See further Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Tables showing the corresponding numeration of documents are found in SEARLE p. 591 ff., BCS III p. XXIX ff.

<sup>3</sup> A brilliant exception is NAPIER-STEVENSON's edition of the Crawford charters in *Anecd. Oxon.*

<sup>4</sup> Good accounts of the names of moneys and similar problems are given by KEARY p. LXXXII ff., GRUEBER p. XCVII ff.

probably have double quotation, owing to the fact that GRUEBER registers moneyers who are not found on coins in the British Museum as well; sometimes they are obviously derived from HILDEBRAND.

As to genealogical names my material does not claim to be complete with regard to sources and variants; those names are of less interest for historical nomenclature and have, moreover recently been collected by HACKENBERG.

As mentioned above, post-Conquest sources are generally not cited, but instances are given to rather a large extent from the four more important chroniclers of the early Middle Ages, viz. Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury. For the OE period these are certainly chiefly based on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Bede — yet at least the two first-mentioned partly reflect sources not otherwise preserved<sup>1</sup> — but when they have new names or interesting variants those are included. Special attention has been paid to the genealogies added to Florence. See further the Index Onomasticus in MHB p. 1001 ff.

The names in DB are cited less minutely with regard to titles etc. than in the earlier sources. Counties are given only when of particular interest.

Within the range thus indicated it is hoped that the material will prove to be fairly exhaustive, inadvertencies naturally excepted.

Normalization in the spelling of names has been carefully avoided, the only change being that capital letters are used throughout the work.

A glance at the name lists will show that a great number of names are discussed which are to be looked upon either as corrupt forms or probably not native. In both cases the chief reason is that SEARLE includes them in his Onomasticon without any reserve. All these forms which with more or less probability fall outside the proper sphere of my investigation are, however, like fictitious names, given in square brackets, and in the summary found after the lists they are left out of consideration, in order not to distort the results unduly. From a strictly scientific point of view the right method would perhaps have been entirely to exclude uncertain spellings and names of doubtful nationality, but it is often

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. HODGKIN p. 502.



very difficult to draw the line between those and the genuine names, and, moreover, in a work of this kind, which is intended to complete earlier special inquiries and claims to be regarded only as a contribution to a future OE name book, it is appropriate to examine even uncertain name forms.

Concerning the general arrangement of the material it might possibly be asserted that the most practical method would have been to give the names in alphabetical order. My object has, however, not been to compile a dictionary of the uncompounded names in OE — which would, besides, have been very incomplete, since personal names in place-names are omitted — but to carry out a systematic inquiry. An alphabetical arrangement would, in addition, have involved unnecessary repetition to a very great extent.

For the saving of space copious use is made of references, both within the treatise and to other works. The first time a name stem occurs its etymology is given in as concise a form as possible, with references to other works, especially those dealing with personal names. Further all uncompounded names of various types belonging to the same stem are there enumerated, in order to illustrate the occurrence of the stem in the OE stock of names. In the numerous cases where a name is directly associated with an OE word, it has not been thought necessary to cite the equivalents of that word in other Germanic languages as well. Nor have I quoted, as a rule, the corresponding names in other Germanic languages. For OG names references are given to FÖRSTEMANN (F); Scand. names are generally not referred to, unless they are also met with in England, in which case BJÖRKMAN is cited, partly because the existing Scand. name books are more easily consulted than F, and partly because some of the names occurring in Old Scandinavia were imported from the Continent and elsewhere.

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It remains for me to tender my thanks to those who have assisted me in carrying out my work. It is with profound sadness that I realize that Professor ERIK BJÖRKMAN, who was my real teacher, is now beyond the reach of expressions of gratitude. Throughout my English studies he showed me the greatest kindness, and his brilliant instruction as well as his unique personal qualities I shall always hold in grateful memory.

It is my pleasant duty to express my sense of obligation to Docent ARVID GABRIELSON, whose teaching has been of much help to me and who has taken a great interest in my work.

I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. HENRY ALEXANDER, M. A., Lector at the University of Uppsala, who has revised my treatise from a stylistic point of view.

Uppsala, November 1919.

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## Periodicals.

- Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed.  
 Academy.  
 Anglia.  
 Anglia Beibl. = Beiblatt zur Anglia.  
 Anz. f. d. A. = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.  
 Archæologia Cambrensis.  
 Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.  
 Arkiv för nordisk filologi.  
 Athenæum.  
 Beitr. = Beiträge etc., hrsg. von Paul u. Braune.  
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.  
 Bezz. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.  
 English Historical Review.  
 Essays and Studies.  
 E. St. = Englische Studien.  
 Finsk Tidskrift.  
 Germania.  
 Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.  
 Idg. Anz. = Indogermanischer Anzeiger.  
 I. F. = Indogermanische Forschungen.  
 Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie.  
 J. E. G. Ph. = Journal of English and Germanic Philology.  
 K. Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.  
 Litbl. = Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.  
 Lit. Cbl. = Literarisches Centralblatt.  
 Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris.  
 M. L. N. = Modern Language Notes.  
 M. L. R. = Modern Language Review.  
 Namn och Bygd.  
 Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.  
 Nordalbingische Studien.  
 Nordisk Tidskrift.  
 N. T. f. Fil. = Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi.  
 Numismatic Chronicle.  
 Revue Celtique.  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.  
 Studier i modern språkvetenskap.  
 Svenska landsmålen.  
 Svensk humanistisk tidskrift.  
 Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie.  
 Z. f. d. A. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.  
 Z. f. d. Ph. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.  
 Z. f. d. W. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.  
 Z. fr. S. L. = Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur.



## III. Abbreviations.

(not given above).

|  |  |
|--|--|
| abl. = ablative.                         | n. = neuter.                           |
| acc. = accusative.                       | NE = New English.                      |
| AD = Anno Domini.                        | NED = New English Dictionary.          |
| AN = Anglo-Norman.                       | NHG = New High German                  |
| Angl. = Anglian.                         | N Norw. = New Norwegian.               |
| Arm. = Armenian.                         | nom. = nominative.                     |
| Celt. = Celtic.                          | North. = Northumbrian.                 |
| cent. = century.                         | Norw. = Norwegian.                     |
| dat. = dative.                           | N Sw. = New Swedish.                   |
| DCB = Dictionary of Christian Biography. | obl. = oblique.                        |
| dial. = dialect.                         | O Dan. = Old Danish.                   |
| DNB = Dictionary of National Biography.  | OE = Old English.                      |
| EDD = English Dialect Dictionary.        | OE Scand. = Old East Scandinavian.     |
| E Fris. = East Frisian.                  | OF = Old French.                       |
| f., fem. = feminine.                     | OG = Old German.                       |
| gen. = genitive.                         | OHG = Old High German.                 |
| Goth. = Gothic.                          | O Icel. = Old Icelandic.               |
| Gr. = Greek.                             | O Ir. = Old Irish.                     |
| Indo-Eur. = Indo-European.               | O Iran. = Old Iranian.                 |
| Ir. = Irish.                             | O Scand. = Old Scandinavian.           |
| Lat. = Latin.                            | O Sw. = Old Swedish.                   |
| LG = Low German.                         | OW Scand. = Old West Scandinavian.     |
| Lith. = Lithuanian.                      | Prim. Germ. = Primitive Germanic.      |
| m., masc. = masculine.                   | Prim. Scand. = Primitive Scandinavian. |
| M Dutch = Middle Dutch.                  | Skr. = Sanskrit.                       |
| ME = Middle English.                     | Slav. = Slavonic.                      |
| MHG = Middle High German.                | Sw. = Swedish.                         |
| MLG = Middle Low German.                 | var. = various reading(s).             |
| mon. = moneyer.                          | voc. = vocative.                       |
|  | W Germ. = West Germanic.               |
|  | W Sax. = West Saxon.                   |

## Introduction.

Down to the Norman Conquest OE personal nomenclature preserved on the whole its original character. Family names did not come into use till the ME period, and OE names were formed according to the principles common to most Indo-Eur. peoples. Consequently an inquiry into these names cannot regard them as isolated objects, but has to examine them against the background of other Germanic and Indo-Eur. name systems. Thus it will be necessary to give a brief survey of some of the important investigations made in this field, special attention being paid, of course, to such questions as bear upon the problems connected with uncompounded names in various languages. Besides the Germanic names, Greek names are dealt with more in detail, because these are best known and offer the best material for comparison.

### I.

#### 1. Compound and uncompounded names.

The credit of having first given a thorough exposition of the principles on which Indo-Eur. personal names were formed is due to FICK, who in his work "*Die griechischen Personennamen*", published in 1874, gave an excellent account of the names of all those great Indo-Eur. peoples who in their ancient stages have preserved the original name system, i. e. the Indo-Iranians, Balto-Slavs, Greeks, Celts, and Teutons<sup>1</sup>. Among the great Indo-Eur. families only the Romans adopted at an early stage different onomatological principles, though even in Latin traces are found of the primitive system<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography in HILKA, *Die altind. Personennamen* p. 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ZIMMERMANN, *Bezz. Beitr.* XXIII pp. 77 ff. 257 ff., XXV p. 1 ff., *Zur Entstehung bzw. Entwicklung der altröm. Personennamen*.

The vast majority of the Indo-Eur. personal names consist of dithematic, compound names composed of special name-words, but by the side of such full names ("Vollnamen") we often find short names, or pet names ("Kurznamen", "Kosenamen") of a hypocoristic nature<sup>1</sup>. Ex. : Skr. *Indra-ketu* : *Indra*, *Mitra-gupta* : *Mitraka*, *Açva-medha* : *Açvala*; OIran. *Ariyâ-râmma* : *Airyu*, *Upa-darma* : *Upika*, *Paiti-dratha* : *Drâtha*; Slav. *Bogu-slav* : *Bogoj*, *Dobro-mir* : *Dobriilo*, *Milo-vuk* : *Milko*; Gr. *Νικο-κλῆς* : *Νίκων*, *Σιράτ-ιππος* : *Σιράτικος*, *Ἡδύ-λαλος* : *Δάλος*; Celt. *Cono-môrus* : *Conan*, *Catu-rix* : *Catoc*, *Bûd-gualan* : *Bûdic*; OWScand. *Sig-urðr* : *Siggi*; *Þor-leifr* : *Leifi*, *Ás-laug* : *Ása*; OG *Wolf-urn* : *Wolfo*, *Hari-bald* : *Herilo*, *Sigi-heri* : *Sigizo*; OE *Ceol-ric* : *Ceola*, *Aelf-wine* : *Aelle*, *Ead-burg* : *Bucgē*.

All uncompounded names are, however, not shortened from compound ones. Thus in Greek, according to FICK p. V ff., three classes of names can be distinguished: 1. Full names with the corresponding short names (cf. above). 2. Names derived from other names, e.g. *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Λακεδαιμόνιος*, *Ἀχαιός*. 3. Transferred or identifying names, where the person is denoted by a name that properly belongs to a being of a different kind. Such names, originally perhaps nicknames, are, e.g., *Σάντρος*, *Κάπρος*. Some of these names, e.g. *Λέων*, *Λύκος*, which also occur in full names, are therefore ambiguous, since they may be either identifying names or short forms of compounds such as *Ἀυτο-λέων*, *Λυκό-οργος*.

In the case of oxytone stem words, confusion between these and the short name is prevented by shifting the accent backwards in the latter; cf. on the one hand the names *Γλαῦκος*, *Πύρρος*, short forms of *Γλαύκ-ιππος*, *Πύρρ-ανδρος*, and on the other hand the adjectives *γλανκός*, *πυρρός*<sup>2</sup>. In other cases the short name reflects the composition form, which differs from the independent form of the stem word : *Νύμφος* (< *Νυμφό-δωρος*) : *νύμφη*; *Εὐδαιμος* (< *Εὐδαιμο-κλῆς*) : *εὐδαίμων*; *Σιρῶμος* (< *Σιρυνμό-δωρος*) : *Σιρῶμων*. When the short form would have coincided with the independent stem word, there is usually an alteration of the member, in order to prevent confusion with the identifying names<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On hypocorism see further below.

<sup>2</sup> FICK p. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> FICK-BECHTEL p. 22.



According to FICK, the derived and transferred names occupy a very limited space in Greek nomenclature. The earliest period seems to know only a few derived names, and perhaps no transferred names at all; the full names and their short forms prevail almost absolutely.

The proofs that in Greek the compound names are the primary ones and that the short names have originated as elliptical forms of these, are summed up by FICK (p. LX ff.) as follows:

1. Monothematic names are found almost exclusively in those cases where a corresponding group of full names is recorded.
2. A great number of monothematic names are, if looked upon as independent formations, entirely meaningless and incorrectly coined formally, whereas they are quite satisfactory with regard both to signification and form as referring to the corresponding full names.
3. Some persons bear, besides the full name, which is quite intelligible by itself, a monothematic name that is shortened from the full name and is intelligible as referring to that<sup>1</sup>.
4. We have express statements of ancient grammarians, from which it is clear that the Greeks themselves have rightly apprehended and grammatically fixed the short name formation, even though it seems that they have partly misunderstood it<sup>2</sup>.
5. The fact that the Greek onomatological principles are found in the name systems of nearly all Indo-Eur. peoples is a fifth proof that those principles were part of the Indo-Eur. heritage and that even the primitive Indo-Eur. people coined their names in the same way.

We may compare, in addition, FICK-BECHTEL p. 33, where the question is raised whether there are not a considerable number of names that have precisely the same appearance as the supposed short forms, without having any corresponding full names. The answer to this is: 1. Short names are, owing to their nature, more long-lived. 2. Some full names may be accidentally not recorded. 3. Other "short names" have possibly never had any corresponding full names, but are formed by analogy with real short names, as though from full names<sup>3</sup>. Among those are names "from the nursery", such as *Πάχης*, *Παχίων*, *Μάκης*, *Μίρκος*, *Σπίρκος*, *Μίρκος*. Finally, there are also a few short names that certainly point to full names, but to such as are formed outside

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CRUSIUS, *Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.* 1891 p. 385 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pāṇini's rules; see HILKA p. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. THUMB, *Idg. Anz.* XIV p. 11.

the name system. These names are mostly original nicknames and have only occasionally become real names.

It is of particular interest to observe that BECHTEL, who has continued FICK's researches into Greek nomenclature, has succeeded in proving that the simple names form a larger part of the Greek stock of names than was originally assumed by FICK. In the second edition of "Die griechischen Personennamen", which is practically a new work, BECHTEL (p. 2) divides these simple names into: 1. comparative names; 2. ethnica and names of relationship; 3. trade names; 4. dedicatory names; 5. names derived from seasons and festivals. In later works,<sup>1</sup> BECHTEL has paid special attention to the importance of nicknames and their development into independent names. He has shown that from the oldest times we can notice the occurrence of an appellative name system by the side of the dithematic system<sup>2</sup>.

The study of Germanic personal names has been carried on at least since the 16th cent., but the earlier works are naturally of a more dilettante nature<sup>3</sup>. JACOB GRIMM first applied modern philological methods to the investigation of OG names. Thus, in his *Deutsche Grammatik* III (1831) p. 689 ff., in connection with the treatment of diminutives of simple names, he deals also with diminutive formations of compound names. He mentions, e. g., the OHG examples *Winifredus qui et Winizo*, *Hizila = Hiltipurh*. On the other hand, he does not seem to have wholly understood short name formation without any diminutive ending; he says (p. 693): "Ich weiss nicht, wie die hypocoristische form *Benno*, *Benne* für *Bernhard* zu verstehen ist? . . . Man würde statt ihrer ein ahd. *Pernzo*, alts. *Bernto*, oder mit ausgestossnem *r* *Penzo*, *Bento*, *Benito* erwarten"<sup>4</sup>.

In the fifties, the problem of the relation of simple names to compound ones gave rise to a rather bitter controversy between

<sup>1</sup> Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind; Die attischen Frauennamen; Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen; Namenstudien.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HOFFMANN, *Bezz.* XXII p. 136 f.; *Lit. Cbl.* 1898, 2056 ff.; HERZOG, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1900 p. 820.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography in v. BÄHDER, *Die deutsche Philologie im Grundriss* p. 145 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *D. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> III (1890) p. 669 ff., IV (1898) p. 1238 ff., and *Kl. Schr.* V p. 367.

FÖRSTEMANN and MÜLLENHOFF; this may, however, be passed over here<sup>1</sup>.

The scholar who first clearly formulated the principles of Germanic name formation was STRACKERJAN, *Die jeveländischen Personennamen* p. 6: "Mit wenigen Ausnahmen sind die altdutschen Namen aus zwei Stämmen zusammengesetzt<sup>2</sup>. Die vollen Namen waren aber für den täglichen Gebrauch zu schwerfällig; es entstanden Abkürzungen, die man Koseformen (hypokoristische Formen) nennt. Diese Koseformen wurden neben den vollen Formen gebraucht, traten auch oft ganz an deren Stelle". That STRACKERJAN interpreted these shortened names correctly is seen from the well-known passages: '*Uodalricum* ob leporem vocaverunt *Uozonem*' Chron. Petershus sec. X, and '*quidam monachus Werinherus qui a quibusdam causa civilitatis Weezil dicebatur*' Uhlands Schr. V p. 582<sup>3</sup>.

A comprehensive investigation of Germanic pet names was published by STARK in 1868. He shows there (p. 9) that names which seem to be formed from one word are recorded since the first century, and the question of the relation between these names and the compound ones he answers as follows (p. 10): "Die einfachen, einstämmigen Namen sind Verkürzungen der zusammengesetzten". In attempting to prove this, he starts from the sound principle that the only reliable basis is afforded by hypocoristic names of which the corresponding full forms are historically evidenced. He has been able to adduce a great number of such pairs<sup>4</sup>. Yet it is obvious that STARK went too far in his assertion that all monothematic names are secondary formations<sup>5</sup>. STARK's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FÖRSTEMANN, K. Z. I p. 97 ff., LILIENCRON und MÜLLENHOFF, *Zur Runenlehre* p. 48. Cf. also POTT, *Die Personennamen* p. 84 ff., WREDE, *Spr. d. Wandalen* p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In a note the author adds: "Diesen Satz muss ich in Widerspruch mit den meisten, vielleicht allen Forschern auf diesem Gebiete, welche auch einfache Stämme als ursprüngliche Namen gelten lassen, festhalten".

<sup>3</sup> SocIN p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also SocIN p. 192 ff.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, STARK's theory (p. 157), that in prehistoric times all Germanic names were originally simple, and that the compound names developed from the simple ones only gradually, yet still within that period, is quite unproved and not very plausible. A great deficiency in STARK's work, which is otherwise highly praiseworthy for his time, is that he did not take other Indo-Eur. name systems into account, but regarded the problem exclusively from an internal Germanic point of view. Cf. ANDRESEN, K. Z. XVIII p. 218, WREDE, *Ostg.* p. 196, SocIN p. 194.



view is shared by, among other writers, STEUR, *Die oberdeutschen Familiennamen* p. 33 ff., ANDRESEN, *Die altdeutschen Personennamen* p. 8 f., and ARNOLD, *Die deutschen Vornamen* p. 5. Objections to this extreme view were raised in reviews by GERLAND, *Z. f. d. Ph.* I p. 234, and PETERS, *Germania* XVI p. 99. Apart from bynames, we have, according to SOCIN p. 194 ff., to take into consideration on the one hand "lall-names"<sup>1</sup>, and, on the other, names that either do not occur at all in compounds, or in which the simple form is far more common than compounds or derivatives. Further, there are some compound names, e. g. *Smidhart*, *Carlman*, which are evidently younger formations than the simple *Smido*, *Carl*.

Similar reservations have been made by MÜLLENHOFF, *Z. f. d. A.* VII p. 411, SCHRÖDER, *Die deutschen Personennamen* p. 6, SCHÖNFELD p. XIII, WAGNER, *Die Namengebung in Köln* p. 30, and, with regard to Scand. names, by AASEN, *Norsk Navnebog* p. 60 f., HELLQUIST, *Sv. ortn. på -inge* p. 227 f., STEENSTRUP, *Mænds og Kvinders Navne i Danmark* p. 51 f.

The uncompound personal names in Old English have, of course, been partly dealt with in some of the works mentioned above, but a more detailed inquiry is still lacking. Of earlier works ought to be mentioned — besides CAMDEN's onomatological collections in his "Remaines concerning Britaïne" — two papers by KEMBLE, viz.: "The names, surnames, and nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons", and "Die Stammtafel der Angelsachsen"<sup>2</sup>. KEMBLE regarded the uncompound names as chiefly independent formations, as appears from his statement (Names p. 100) that "the addition of a final *a* to any word created a new word denoting the possessor of, or participator in, the thing denoted by the original word", e. g. *Pada* 'he that hath a tunic', *Brorda* 'he that hath the sword'. Yet KEMBLE was aware that some of those names might have originated as "contractions" of compounds, e. g. *Ecca* : *Ecgwulf*.

Though short, the best account of OE names is the one found in SUNDÉN, *The hypocor. suff. -y* p. 144 ff. Brief surveys of this sort are also given by ECKHARDT p. 331 f., BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 186, E. St. LII p. 176, FORSSNER p. 261 ff. More comprehensive, but

<sup>1</sup> On this point cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> The latter, published in Munich 1836, has not been accessible to me (cf. J. GRIMM, *Kl. Schr.* V p. 240 ff., *D. Mythol.* III p. 377 ff.). Nor have I had access to HRUSCHKA, *Zur angelsächs. Namensforschung*.

of doubtful value, is SEARLE's Introduction to his *Onomasticon*<sup>1</sup>. Most important is MÜLLER's work on the names of the *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis*; p. 40 ff. he examines the uncompounded names, which are of rather frequent occurrence in this document. On the relation between compound and uncompounded names see p. 138 ff. Like KEMBLE, MÜLLER seems to look upon the uncompounded names as chiefly independent formations, and to a certain extent this may be considered a useful reaction against STARK, but it must be said that MÜLLER, on his part, has carried this etymologization too far. Yet MÜLLER is undoubtedly right in his remark (p. 142) that we can know for a certainty that a simple name is a short form only when the corresponding full name is recorded; no instance of this is found in LV.

It is especially interesting from an OE point of view to remember that the adjacent Celtic languages coined their names on the whole in conformity with the same principles as were employed in OE. Besides FICK p. LXVI ff., Celtic names are dealt with by, e. g., GLÜCK, *Die bei C. J. Cæsar vork. kelt. Namen*, ZIMMER, *K. Z.* XXXII p. 158 ff., esp. p. 175, Z. fr. S. L. XIII p. 48 (cf. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Mém. de la Soc. Ling. de Paris* IX p. 189 ff.), McCURE, *Archæol. Cambr.* 5th ser. VII p. 257 ff., PEDERSEN, *Vgl. Grammatik d. kelt. Spr.* II p. 62<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, as an excellent survey of the Indo-Eur. name system as a whole may be mentioned BRUGMANN's account, *Grdr.*<sup>2</sup> II: 1, § 64; for the occurrence of original uncompounded names cf. esp. *Ann.* 2.

## 2. Hypocorism.

After this survey of uncompounded names in general and different views as to their relation to compound names, it will be appropriate to touch somewhat upon the real short names and their formation. We are thus here concerned with hypocoristic names in the proper sense. A hypocoristic name is, according to NOREEN, *Vårt språk* V p. 390, "such a transformation of the normal name of a person or a thing as is intended to give it a more familiar,

<sup>1</sup> The account by GOODALL in *Place-names of S.-W. Yorkshire* p. 12 is unsatisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> A few papers on Celtic nomenclature have not been accessible to me, cf. BEST, *Bibliography* p. 17 ff.

intimate, cordial, or playful, stamp. Such names characterize their objects, so to speak, from the point of view of the nursery, family life, or circle of friends"<sup>1</sup>. It must be borne in mind, however, that this holds good of the names in question only at the time when they are formed. It often happens that the hypocoristic name supersedes the real name, and also that later on it passes over to other individuals as a proper (Christian) name<sup>2</sup>.

In the ancient languages hypocoristic names were formed by ellipsis of the full names. Here we have to distinguish between two types: dithematic and monothematic short names. In the former the whole first member of the full name and the beginning of the second were preserved, besides which in most cases an endearing termination was added to the remaining part of the name, e. g. Gr. *Δημο-σθ-ᾱς* : *Δημο-σθένης*, *Καρπο-ζο-ᾱς* : *Καρπο-ζοάνης*, *Διο-γν-ις* : *Διο-γνήτος*, *Ἐπ-αφρῶ* : *Ἐπ-αφροδίτος*, *Ἀντί-γων* : *Ἀντί-γονος*<sup>3</sup>; OG *Cannā-bā-s* : *Cannā-baudes*, *Adal-b-o* : *Adal-bero*<sup>4</sup>. Germanic dithematic short names are, as a rule, less transparent than Greek ones. Among them STARK includes, however, even such short names where the final consonant of the first member has undergone assimilation with the initial consonant of the second member, e. g. OG *Rappo* : *Radpald*, *Tammo* : *Tankmarus*. Similar names are found in great numbers in OE as well, although the corresponding pairs are seldom historically evidenced; cf., e. g., *Aeffa*, *Ceobba*. Otherwise dithematic short names are but rarely met with in OE, and it is questionable whether that type was productive in historical OE times; cf., however, *Saba*, *Godra*.

In monothematic short names either the first or the second member of the full name was cut off, so that the result was either an "Endkosename" or an "Anfangskosename"<sup>5</sup>. On account of the accent shifting in Prim. Germanic the latter are naturally far more common in Germanic languages. Rather seldom does the

<sup>1</sup> "Med hypokoristiskt namn förstås varje sådan ombildning av ett föremåls normala namn, som avser att åt detsamma ge en förtroligare, intimare, hjärtligare eller lekfullare prägel. Dylika namn känneteckna sina föremål så att säga från barnkammarrens, familjelivets och vänkretsens synpunkt".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NOREEN l. c.

<sup>3</sup> FICK p. XV f.

<sup>4</sup> STARK p. 103 ff.

<sup>5</sup> FICK p. XVII, STARK p. 12 ff.



name member appear in an unaltered form, but generally an endearing termination is added, and these suffixes were of much the same kind in all Indo-Eur. linguistic families<sup>1</sup>. As regards Germanic languages, the masc. suffixes most employed are *-an-* (OE *-a*) and *-ja-* (OE *-i*<sup>2</sup>), which WREDE, Ostg. p. 193, terms "primary suffixes"<sup>3</sup>. Besides those there are "secondary suffixes" of a diminutive character; for OE suffixes containing *l* and *k* are chiefly to be taken into consideration.

### 3. Consonantal gemination.

In connection with the suffixal derivation some attention must be paid to a phenomenon of a formal nature that is of great importance for the formation of hypocoristic names: the doubling of medial consonants. This is found in OE uncompound names of various categories, but, as is well known, it occurs not only in OE and other Germanic languages but in all Indo-Eur. languages, nay, even outside those.

Since Prim. Indo-Eur. times interchange between single and double consonant is met with in hypocoristic names, "lall-words", onomatopoetic words, etc.; especially in proper names gemination has become a traditional formative element<sup>4</sup>. Ex. Skr. *Cakka-s* (*cakita-s*); Gr. *Φίλλιος* (*φίλος*), *Κλέομμυς* (*Κλεο-μένης*); Lat. *Rubbius*, *Deccius*, *Cuppius*; Celt. *Eppius*, *Bottus*, *Maccus*, *Burrus*, OG *Itta* (*Ita-berga*), *Aggo* (*Ago-bardus*).

To begin with short names, we frequently find such pairs as Gr. *Μάζος* : *Μάκκος*, *Μένης* : *Μέννης*, *Σθένις* : *Σθέννης*, *Σδλος* : *Σδλλος*, OE *Eada* : *Eadda*, *Tuna* : *Tunna*, *Bica* : *Bicca*, *Aeti* : *Aetti*. Many of these forms are probably nothing but bad spellings<sup>5</sup>, but the majority no doubt represent a pronunciation with a short or a long consonant respectively. As there is not always, perhaps rarely, an etymological reason for this gemination<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> FICK p. XVII ff. Further references are given below under the different sections.

<sup>2</sup> See further p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. KÖGEL, Anz. f. d. A. XVIII p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BRUGMANN, Grdr. I p. 817, Griech. Gramm. p. 153, with numerous references.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SCHULZE, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> On assimilation in Germanic languages, which is here left out of the question, see below. To enter upon assimilation in other Indo-Eur. languages does not fall within the scope of this work.

its explanation is to be sought elsewhere. As in the following categories of words, the gemination is here of a spontaneous nature, and the doubling of a medial consonant in short names has generally been interpreted as having originated in emphatic address<sup>1</sup>. In support of this theory are adduced Bœotian vocatives with a nominative function, as *Μέννει*, *Φίλλει*.

Another spontaneous phenomenon, though not entirely analogous to the gemination in short names, is the doubling of consonants often found in the so-called "lall-words" and "lall-names"<sup>2</sup>. Even here geminated forms interchange with non-geminated ones<sup>3</sup>. By lall-words are meant such words as are formed by children in their earliest age, which accounts for the simple structure of these words. *A* is the most frequent vowel, the labials the most frequent consonants. Reduplication is common. Lall-words are an international linguistic phenomenon, and occur in almost identical forms in the most different quarters with the same sense, although there are exceptions to this rule<sup>4</sup>. They naturally refer to persons and things that are of special importance to infants, and accordingly the most common lall-words are those denoting parents or other relatives, e. g. Gr. *μάμη*, *μάμα* 'mamma', Lat. *mamma*, OSlav. *mama*, Lith. *māma*, Ir. *mam*; OHG *muoma* 'Muhme', Skr. *māma-h*

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., OSTHOFF, Bezz. Beitr. XXIV p. 155, BRUGMANN, Grdr. II p. 44, Griech. Gramin. pp. 153, 258, SOMMER, Handbuch d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre p. 202. — FICK, on the contrary, assumes (p. LIX) that the consonant was doubled because "man den oft im Verhältnis zu den langen Vollnamen gar sehr verkürzten Koseformen wiederum einen gewissen Halt durch energische Aussprache zu geben bedacht war" (= FICK-BECHTEL p. 30). That this should have been the real cause seems, however, rather improbable. Besides, the gemination in original uncompounded names would then remain unexplained. It might certainly be answered that the gemination has been transferred to those names by analogy, but this additional explanation itself indicates that this gemination is not to be looked upon as a sort of compensation, but as a formative principle. — What WREDE means by the explanation suggested Ostg. p. 196 is not quite clear.

<sup>2</sup> To judge from the NED these terms are not current in English, but it seems as if German "Lallwörter", "Lallnamen" might very well be rendered in this way. Cf. the NE verb *lall*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SOMMER, Handbuch p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. GERLAND, *Intensiva und Iterativa* p. 121 ff., KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Gesch. d. griech. Spr.* p. 353 ff., and literature there quoted.

'uncle', Arm. *mam* 'grandmother'; Gr. *πάππα* 'papa', Lat. *pappa*; Skr. *tata* 'father', Gr. *ἄττα*, Lat. *atta*, Goth. *atta*<sup>1</sup>.

Certain lall-words, used by children as designations either for themselves or for other persons, may sometimes come into use instead of the real name even among grown up people, at least in familiar speech. Like original short names, they may afterwards develop into independent (Christian) names. Lall-names, as well as lall-words, are found everywhere, e. g. Gr. *Ταῖας*, *Ἀνῖας*, Lat. *Ab(b)a*, *Acca*, *An(n)a*, *Nunna*, *Lilla*<sup>2</sup>. SOGIN p. 195 has a list of Germanic lall-names, some of which are certainly doubtful, but on the other hand several more instances might be added. As is shown below, lall-names are of rather frequent occurrence in OE, though some may also more or less easily be interpreted "etymologically". In these cases especially the nationality is often extremely difficult to determine; not infrequently it cannot be decided because the names have the same form in different languages<sup>3</sup>. It may be noticed that all the Latin instances quoted above coincide exactly with their OE equivalents. From an OE point of view Celtic names are particularly troublesome.

Of less importance for our problem is the spontaneous gemination met with in onomatopoeic words, e. g. Skr. *pippakā* Gr. *πιπίλω*, Lat. *garrulus*, NHG *klirren*, NE *hiss*, *click*<sup>4</sup>.

Moreover, we have to observe that gemination is also found in other words where the double consonant cannot be regarded as the result of an assimilatory process, but is to be connected with

<sup>1</sup> KLUGE's attempt, *Urgermanisch* p. 228, to explain Germanic \**appon-* (Goth. *atta*) as a pet form of Indo-Eur. *patēr* etc., must be considered a failure. — Cf. also Gr. *κακκᾶρ*, Lat. *cacare*, NE dial. *cack*, NHG *kacken*, N Swed. *kacka*, etc.; see GERLAND, *Intens. u. Iter.* p. 49, GJERDMAN, *Sörml. stadsmålets kvalit. ljudlära* p. 146 f. In the case of Germanic words we need not assume borrowing, since these words are naturally not subjected to sound shifting. — A striking example of the internationality of lall-words is, that NHG *Zitze*, OE *titt*, NE *tit*, Sw. dial. *titti* 'teat', etc., occurs in a negro language (Suaheli in Africa) as *titti* with the same sense. [Communicated to the author by Docent O. GJERDMAN].

<sup>2</sup> As has been pointed out by ZIMMERMANN, *Zur Entst. bzw. Entw. d. altröm. Pers.* p. 18 ff., lall-names occur frequently in Latin. In the languages of Asia Minor they are, however, especially common; see KRETSCHMER, *Einführung* p. 334 ff., SUNDWALL, *Die einheim. Namen der Lykier* p. 275 ff. (cf. DANIELSSON, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1916 p. 490 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SCHULZE, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BRUGMANN, *Grdr.* I p. 817.



that which occurs in hypocoristic names. In these words the gemination has a purely virtual character and is due to the signification of the words in question, which are not infrequently of a disparaging nature<sup>1</sup>. As examples may be cited Gr. γόγγυς 'womanish man' (γυνή), Lat. *cuppes* 'epicure' (: *cupio*), *vorrus* 'glutton' (: *voro*).

Of special interest is a group of Germanic words in which we are in all probability concerned with a consonantal gemination of much the same kind as in the hypocoristic names and the appellatives just mentioned. In Germanic languages numerous instances of double consonants are recorded in denominations of such objects as are rounded, lumpy, clumsy, or truncated in some way. These words, which are originally names of inanimate things, sometimes come secondarily to denote animals or human beings, often both, e. g. West Flemish *babbe* 'tumour', Swed. dial. *babba* 'an insect', *babbe* 'little boy, child'; cf. the OE name *Babba*. Yet it must be pointed out that in this and similar cases we have no real comparison before us; it is the quality itself that is the starting point for the subsequent development of sense. The gemination here met with has been much debated. O. v. FRIESEN, in his work on the Germanic geminated mediæ, explains the double consonant as due to a Prim. Germ. *n*-assimilation. His theory has, however, been criticized by several scholars, and generally the opinion has been asserted that we are not here concerned with an ordinary phonetic development but, instead, the gemination is connected with the signification of these words<sup>2</sup>.

Partly following GERLAND, HELLQUIST, Nord. verb med mediagem. p. 48, tries to find a common psychical explanation for the spontaneous gemination, in whatever categories of words it appears<sup>3</sup>: "Ultimately these words are expressions of an intensification of the feeling or interest of the speaker — in a sympathetic

<sup>1</sup> SOLMSEN, Rhein. Mus. LVI p. 501 ff., BRUGMANN, Grdr. II p. 44, SOMMER, Handbuch p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ZUPITZA, K. Z. XXXVI p. 235; JOHANSSON, ib. p. 351 ff., esp. p. 373; KAUFFMANN, Z. f. d. Ph. XXXII p. 255 f.; HELLQUIST, Nord. Tidsskr. f. Fil. 3 R XII p. 52 ff., esp. p. 64, Arkiv f. nord. fil. XXI p. 133 ff., Nord. verb med mediagem., esp. pp. 6, 47 ff., Xenia Lideniana p. 87 ff.; BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 252 ff., esp. pp. 258, 270; OLSON, De appell. subst. bildn. i fsv. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> According to HELLQUIST also in iterative and intensive verbs.

or antipathetic direction — towards the person, the thing, the action, or the condition that is to be denoted”<sup>1</sup>.

It has already been mentioned, in connection with dithematic short names in Germanic languages, that the geminated consonant is sometimes the result of an assimilation between the final consonant of the first member of the full name and the initial consonant of the second member<sup>2</sup>.

STARK, during his researches into Germanic short names, had, of course, noticed that the gemination cannot always be thus explained phonetically. In names such as *Itta* : *Itaberga*, *Aggo* : *Agobardus* he assumes (p. 20) that the double consonant is due to "die schon in alter Zeit sehr weit verbreitete Gewohnheit einfache Consonanz zwischen Vocalen zu verdoppeln." By this vague formulation he possibly alludes to the above discussed interchange in, for instance, Gr.  $\Sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\varsigma$  :  $\Sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\varsigma$ ; in any case he does not mention that this spontaneous gemination belongs to the Indo-Eur. hypocoristic formation in general. From STARK's account it appears, however, that he regarded the assimilation of adjacent consonants in compound names as the chief source of the gemination in short names. For this assimilation he gives a great number of very detailed rules. In many cases STARK is no doubt right, but by neglecting to take into consideration the fact that the spontaneous gemination is an international phenomenon he was led to seek for a strictly phonological explanation in numerous names where this is neither plausible nor possible<sup>3</sup>. A criticism of STARK's exaggerations, which was on the whole justified, was made by GERLAND, Z. f. d. Ph. I p. 235, and also in the same author's work *Intensiva und Iterativa* p. 71.

FÖRSTEMANN (p. 9) looks upon the gemination as chiefly caused by the WestGerm. lengthening of consonants before *j*, but, as has been pointed out by ECKHARDT, E. St. XXXII p. 358, this can account for only a few names: there is no *i*-mutation in the

<sup>1</sup> "Ytterst äro de uttryck för en stegring av den talandes känsla eller intresse — i sympatisk eller antipatisk riktning — gentemot den person, det föremål, den handling eller det tillstånd, som skall betecknas."

<sup>2</sup> Such assimilations between the final stem consonant and certain derivative or flexional elements as occur in appellatives are here generally left out of consideration, since they fall within the scope of pure phonology.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to ascertain if and to what extent the apparently regular assimilation in certain Germanic short names was encouraged by the inherited spontaneous gemination in words and names of a hypocoristic nature.

majority of the names. ECKHARDT assumes, instead, that the gemination has originated through assimilation in the language of children. This may certainly be correct in some cases, but the explanation is too restricted, since the double consonant is not always due to assimilation, nor is it limited in its origin to the language of children, however great a part their imperfect faculty of speech may have played in the formation of hypocoristic names. ECKHARDT, as well as STARK, seems to have overlooked the spontaneous gemination. The explanation of such parallel forms as OE *Eada* : *Eadda* that he gives (l. c., note) is much too schematically formulated. According to ECKHARDT *Eada* is shortened from compounds where the initial sound of the second member was a vowel or an *h* (after a simple final consonant in the first member), e. g. *Eadhelm*, whereas *Eadda* is shortened from compounds such as *Eadmund*, *Eadweard* (and *Totta* from *Torhthelm*). Cf. 'Edwine qui et *Eda* dictus est' Sim. Durh. ch. 63<sup>1</sup>.

It is not easy to decide when assimilation really occurs; the only certain basis for this is, of course, as in other cases, those instances in which both the full name and the corresponding short name are recorded as denoting the same person. In OE such pairs are few in number, and therefore inferences must to a great extent be drawn from existing parallels in other Germanic languages.

The gemination in OE short names has also been briefly touched upon by SUNDÉN, *Hypocor. suff.* -y p. 145, note 2: "A consonantal modification of this kind (i. e. in *Aelfa*, *Aeffa* < *Aelf-beorht*, -gar, -here, -sige, etc.) is not rare in OE names, e. g. *Burga* > *Bugga*, *Tilba* > *Tibba*, *Wulfa* > *Wuffa*. Moreover, note the tendency to double single consonants in hypocoristic names in OE, e. g. *Beaga* > *Beagga*, *Cuda* > *Cudda*, *Tida* > *Tidda*, etc." Though in reality SUNDÉN is evidently of the same opinion as I, this formulation seems to require a slight modification. It is probably incorrect to speak of a transition *Wulfa* > *Wuffa*; more likely the development was, for instance, *Wulfstan* > *Wulfa* or *Wuffa*, i. e. the gemination (assimilation) — if it occurred — took place at the same time as the shortening. To judge from the examples quoted in brackets, this is possibly also SUNDÉN's view. Nor is it necessary to draw a marked distinction between the first three instances and the following : *Tida* need not be assumed as

<sup>1</sup> CARSTENS' explanation, *Bremische Familiennamen* p. 4, is decidedly erroneous.



an intermediate stage between, e. g., *Tidgar* and *Tidda*, in other words, the development here was *Tidgar* > *Tida* or *Tidda*, i. e. parallel to the one above. Gemination (assimilation) was facultative; in what measure its occurrence intensified the hypocoristic nature of the short form, it is difficult to say. SUNDÉN rightly characterizes the gemination as a tendency, and the only intention of these remarks is to emphasize that it is to be regarded as such, whether it seems to be phonologically justified or not.

Thus, if, on the one hand, it appears from the preceding discussion that the gemination occurring in OE uncompounded names is ultimately derived from various sources, it is, on the other hand, highly probable that in historical OE times these had coalesced, and that the Anglo-Saxons interpreted the gemination in the same way in lall-names, assimilatory names, etc. Several different causes had co-operated to give the gemination as such a certain hypocoristic value. It is therefore not unimaginable that even in OE, at least to some extent, the same state of things had arisen as prevails, for instance, in N Swed., where certain geminated name endings, such as masc. *-bbe*, *-dde*, which have originated in pet forms of names containing *-b-*, *-d-*, are subsequently by analogy transferred to names without those medial consonants, e. g. *Bebbe* for *Bertil*, *Jödde* for *Jöns*<sup>1</sup>. These endings might be looked upon as a kind of hypocoristic suffix. In OE the corresponding masc. suffixes would then consist of a double consonant + *a*. A survey of the geminated name endings within this group shows that the relative frequency is as follows: *-dda* in 27 names (17 of which are also found with single consonants)<sup>2</sup>, *-cca* 19(8), *-bba* 15(7), *-cga* 14(4), *-lla* 14(5), *-nna* 13(6), *-tta* 10(5), *-ffa* 8(4), *-ssa* 8(2), *-rra* 7(0), *-mma* 6(1), *-ppa* 5(2), *-hha* 4(1) [= 150(62)]. That at least the most common endings were sometimes used as hypocoristic suffixes is not unlikely. In explaining the separate

<sup>1</sup> NOREEN, *Vårt språk* V p. 391. Cf. also BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 275 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Note that a suffix *-ppa* does not occur; thus the short forms of compounds with *Cuð-* are *Cuða*, *Cudda*. As a parallel might possibly be adduced the early Prim. Germ. transition *-ðð-* > *-dd-*, whereas *-ð-* remained (v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 116, note). Cf. also OWScand. *Guði*, *Guddi*: *Guð-* (CLEASBY-VIGFUSSON, *Icel.-Engl. Dict.* p. XXXIV, RYGH, *Norske gaardnavne*, *Indledning* p. 37), *godði*: *goði* (JÓNSSON p. 286).

names, I have, however, suggested the occurrence of such suffixes only in exceptional cases, since their existence in OE is, after all, quite unproved.

#### 4. Signification.

After having hitherto been chiefly occupied with the formal side of the names, we now pass over to their signification.

Nowadays the signification of a name is, really, the person it denotes. "That in a personal name we have to see only a who, not at the same time also a what, this is, as it were, self-evident in the every-day use of the names"<sup>1</sup>. Yet it is probable that, with the exception of pure lall-names, all personal names have originally possessed a more or less clearly marked signification, though, in the course of centuries, this has become more and more obscure. In the language names hold a favoured position in relation to other words, inasmuch as they are often more long-lived than these; contrary to ordinary nouns they do not disappear from the language when they are no longer understood.

With regard to Germanic compound names it is well known that, as in other Indo-Eur. languages, they were coined from special name words, which originally had no doubt a definite signification<sup>2</sup>. "Ursprünglich war jede Namengebung Namensschöpfung gewesen, erwachsen aus einem Akt erhöhter Phantasie : der Name selbst war ein konzentrierter poetischer Heilwunsch"<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore natural that the name words are frequently of a poetic character, and hence it follows that when heroic fiction reached the period of its decay, the intelligibility of the ancient names diminished. In connection with this the Germanic principles of name-giving may be called to mind<sup>4</sup>. According to the earliest, the principle of variation, the compound name of the child was formed by one or both members being taken from the father's, the mother's, or other relatives' names. Later on, partly in co-operation with,

<sup>1</sup> TEGNÉR, *Nordisk Tidskrift* 1882 p. 1 ("Att man i ett personnamn måste se blott ett vem, icke på samma gång även ett vad, detta faller vid namnens vardagliga användning liksom av sig självt").

<sup>2</sup> On the meaning of Greek names see MOREL in DAREMBERG's *Dict. des Antiquités* IV p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> SCHRÖDER, *Die deutschen Personennamen* p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. STORM, *Arkiv f. nord. fil.* IX p. 199 ff., GRAPE in *Nordisk Familjebok* s. v. 'namn', FLOM, *M. L. N.* XXXII p. 7 ff.

partly in opposition to this principle, appears the alliterative principle, when the son's name alliterated with the father's. The last principle, according to which children were named after deceased persons, is of less interest for this question. It is obvious that the principle of variation especially would often give rise to such compound names as are apparently devoid of any rational sense. To argue as to whether Germanic full names are to be interpreted as logical formations in their entirety, or whether we have only to decide the signification of each member by itself, is therefore rather meaningless. The former view, which regarded every ancient name as significant, is represented, besides the brothers GRIMM, by, e. g., MÜLLENHOFF, *Zur Runenlehre* p. 43, KEMBLE, *Names* p. 86<sup>1</sup>, the latter by, e. g., FÖRSTEMANN, *K. Z.* I pp. 103, 107, BRADLEY, *The Goths* p. 368, WREDE, *Ostg.* p. 197, SOCIN p. 197 ff. (with further references), SCHRÖDER, *Die deutschen Personennamen* p. 7 ff., SCHÖNFELD p. XII, KALBOW p. 22<sup>2</sup>, SKEAT, *Place-names of Hertfordshire* p. 46, WEEKLEY, *Surnames* p. 27; cf. also MÜLLER p. 150 ff.<sup>3</sup> A universal rule for the whole Old Germanic period can certainly not be stated, but we must confine ourselves to try to ascertain how matters stood at each separate time and place.

That even the people of the Carlovingian age had not always a clear understanding of the formation and signification of their names is proved by a number of erroneous translations; best known are those made by the monk Smaragdus, who lived in the Frankish empire at the beginning of the 9th century. He translates, for instance, *Rainmir* 'nitidus mihi', *Uuilmunt* 'volens bucca', *Ratmunt* 'consilium oris'<sup>4</sup>. With those may be compared the assumed names under which Alcuin and his friends wrote to and

<sup>1</sup> By way of illustration some instances may be quoted from d'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *La langue des Francs*: *Auna-charius* 'celui qui a une heureuse armée' 60; *Baino-baudes* 'celui qui commande aux jambes' 77; *Bere-thrudis* 'amie des cochons, des sangliers' 88; *Berti-sindis* 'celle qui suit un chemin brillant' 96; *Aghili-berchtus* 'brillant par la polissonnerie' 99; *Ance-berchtus* 'brillant par les jambes' 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GIERACH, *Anz. f. d. A.* 1918 p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> For OWScand. names cf. MUNCH, *Saml. Afhandl.* IV p. 28 f.

<sup>4</sup> SOCIN p. 198, SCHRÖDER, *Die deutschen Personennamen* p. 10. — Cf. also the ME misinterpretations (AD 1165–70) of OE names quoted by ZUPITZA, *E. St.* XI p. 404 (from Reginald's *Vita S. Godrici*, *Surt. Soc. Publ.* 20, London 1847, pp. 22, 23, 140).



about one another, e. g. *Arno* = *Aquilo*, *Rabanus* = *Maurus*, *Heckstan* = *Alta Petra*<sup>1</sup>.

For the signification of OE un-compounded names see below.

## II.

### 1. Formal division.

Formally the un-compounded names in OE are divided into five groups:

- I. Strong names, e. g. masc. *Beorn*, *Wine*, *Horn*, *Brun*, *God*, *Hun*, *Lull*, *Wor(r)*; fem. *Badu*, *Hild*, *Hwatu*, *Eafu*.
- II. Weak names, e. g. masc. *Aesca*, *Beorna*, *Tun(n)a*, *Dudda*, *Coena*, *Goda*, *Hwita*, *Ab(b)a*, *Bubba*, *Blunta*, *Beorra*, *Huna*, *Ibba*, *Lulla*; fem. *Beage*, *Gode*, *Hune*, *Crawe*, *Lulle*.
- III. Names in -i (-e), masc., e. g. *Ecgi*, *Godi*, *Ini*, *Baede*, *Hemmi*, *Lulle*.
- IV. Diminutive names, e. g. *Duddel*, *Addul*, *Hiddila*; *Aefic*, *Hwituc*, *Baduca*; *Dudig*, *Cynia*, *Tilne*, *Lullede*.
- V. Names in -ing, e. g. *Adding*, *Bruning*, *Billing*, *Lutting*.

As is seen, this division is not strictly logical, but the arrangement chosen will, however, be the most practical one, because it best brings those names together which belong to the same onomatological type. The terms strong and weak names, analogous to the distribution into strong and weak substantives, or adjectives in strong or weak form, are obviously too comprehensive as designating the first two groups, since all names in III and V, and the majority of those in IV have the strong inflection, and the *a*-derived names in IV have the weak one, but nevertheless they seem to be preferable to other, possibly more adequate, denominations. See further the introductory remarks to each separate group.

### 2. Methods of investigation.

With regard to the numerous problems that present themselves during an attempt to determine the origin and signification of the un-compounded names, I have, in order to bring the vast and in

<sup>1</sup> DCB I p. 75.

many cases obscure material under one important point of view, chosen the expedient of trying to ascertain how these names appeared from an OE point of view. How did the Anglo-Saxons themselves interpret them in various respects?

I am, of course, quite aware of the difficulty of such a task. Under any circumstances we can but approximately get into the linguistic sense of past ages. If, in addition, the period in question lies a thousand years back in time, and we are concerned with a foreign language possessing only a comparatively limited literature, it is clear that the results arrived at must be rather uncertain. Chance has played an enormous part in the preserving of OE names down to our own times, and the same is also true of the stock of words that constitute the background against which the names have to be judged.

That, in spite of these facts, the investigation has been planned in the way suggested, is due to my hope that what is possibly lost in point of philological profundity will be regained in the shape of greater uniformity. At any rate my conviction is that from an onomatological point of view the subject is advanced by not being exclusively dealt with linguistically. The sole reliable basis for an inquiry into the uncompounded names in OE is, on the one hand, the compound names recorded there, and on the other hand, the specifically OE vocabulary. That such a view by no means excludes the names from being also connected with other Germanic names and words, will be seen from the following detailed discussion.

In order to attain my object I have examined every name from two principal points of view : is it — from an OE point of view — 1. a short form of a compound name? 2. intelligible?

1. Within each of the sections I—IV — the *ing*-names occupy a special position — the names are divided into two groups:

A : Names which can be proved or assumed to have originated as short forms of such compound names as are recorded in OE, and which the Anglo-Saxons themselves could without difficulty associate with the corresponding full name. By this it is, of course, not meant that a short name could be derived only from one full name. It is obvious that a name as, e. g., *Ead(d)a* might belong to any of the names *Eadgar*, *-mund*, *-nōð*, *-red*, *-weald*, *-wulf*, etc. The meaning is only that the stem of the uncompounded name is found as a member (usually the first) in OE

compound names<sup>1</sup>. Nor do I intend to assert that every name placed under *A* must necessarily be interpreted as a short form; this only indicates the possibility of regarding the name in question as an OE short form. — In certain cases it may be imagined that an original simple name has subsequently entered as a member in an "apparently" compound name. In arranging the material this has not been taken into consideration.

**B** : Other names, thus even such as may be assumed to be original short forms, dating from pre-OE times, but to which no corresponding full names are recorded in OE.

In this division I have, for the compound names, been forced chiefly to rely on SEARLE's Onomasticon, but since that work is very liberal with instances, it is hoped that this method of procedure has not caused too many mistakes.

It must be noticed, however, that even such an arrangement as the one here adopted in reality implies a very rough systematization, an undue simplification of the problem. The time chosen as a background, the OE period, is in fact much too long for us to assume that it was uniform with regard to its stock of names. The only right method would be to take a fixed point, or a very limited period, and try to ascertain the character of every name at that time. But this is practically impossible, except in dealing with our own time. A few examples from the present N Swed. stock of names will best illustrate this. We can there distinguish between at least three different strata of short names<sup>2</sup>: 1. Original short forms which have become real Christian names and which nowadays are never, or only quite exceptionally, used hypocoristically, e. g. *Arne*, *Ebbe*, *Inge*; *Ebba*, *Emma*, *Hilda*. 2. Names which are employed both as Christian names and as short forms, e. g. *Manne*, *Olle*, *Lasse*; *Hedda*, *Lisa*, *Ulla*. 3. Names which are used only hypocoristically, e. g. *Ludde*, *Moje*, *Joppe*; *Fia*, *Magga*. This circumstance is due to the different ages of the names. A short form needs rather a long time for its original hypocoristic value to be forgotten. That it can be accepted as a Christian name even without having completely lost this *nuance*, is seen from the names belonging to the second category.

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of brevity this is denoted thus in the name lists : [*Ead(d)a*] : *Ead-*, or when the name occurs only as a second member in compounds : [*Brorda*] : *-brord*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NOREEN, *Vårt språk* V p. 391 ff.



Of course it is not permissible simply to assert that what holds true of N Swed. is also applicable to OE, but when we know that the same principle of forming short names was productive both before, during, and after the OE period, it is obvious that we must assume the existence of such different strata within the OE stock of short names. The older the short names were, the more they had, in the eyes of later ages, disengaged themselves from the corresponding full names<sup>1</sup>. In the case of certain names it is indubitable that even at the beginning of the OE age they had become normal names, and therefore they are here given under *B*. But under *A* too we can expect to find names of various types. Thus, many a name was no doubt interpreted in quite another way by an Anglo-Saxon of about 700 than by one living in 1066. A name which the former easily associated with the corresponding full name, possibly borne by the same person, was perhaps for the latter an isolated name without connections in the stock of compound names then in use<sup>2</sup>.

2. A few words have been said above as to the original signification of the names, and examples have been given to show that even in OE times this signification was sometimes obscured. It is beyond all doubt, however, that the Anglo-Saxons could assign a real sense to many uncompounded names, if they thought about the matter. In conformity with the above-mentioned principle of investigation I have tried to ascertain which of the uncompounded names in OE were intelligible to the Anglo-Saxons, i. e. how far, with regard to these names, the OE people had reached that complete indifference to the verbal meaning of personal names which characterizes modern nomenclature. Within each of the groups *A* and *B* the names are subdivided into:

**a :** Intelligible — which term is thus equivalent to 'intelligible from an OE point of view' — comprises those names of which it can be assumed that the Anglo-Saxons themselves could easily associate them with the corresponding words in the living OE vocabulary.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, since the transition from real hypocoristic names into real Christian names takes place at different times for different names, I am not in a position to fix a period when "die Kurznamen im grossen und ganzen sich noch nicht von der Ursprungsform emancipiert hatten" (Socin p. 192).

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it is to be noted that this holds good not only of hypocoristic forms shortened from full names, but also — *mutatis mutandis* — of, for instance, bynames developed into independent names.

**b** : Unintelligible comprises other names.

It must be acknowledged that, for divers reasons, the problem is far from definitely solved here. The OE stock of words has been only partly preserved, and what remains is not yet accessible in a modern and sufficiently comprehensive dictionary. I have not been able to work through all existing special glossaries and the lexicographical notices that are scattered about in scientific literature. Further it is conceivable that certain stems also occurred as ordinary words, though they happen to be preserved only in names, e. g. *Tata*. In the case of other stems they are recorded earlier in names than in ordinary words, e. g. *Bigga*<sup>1</sup>.

What has been said above in connection with the question of short names, viz. that the OE period is in reality too long a period to serve as a background for a uniform judgement, is, of course, true here as well. It is misleading to look upon the OE stock of words as a unity. An exact investigation of the intelligibility of the names would have to take into account all discrepancies in point of time and dialect. The difference between the language of poetry and that of prose ought especially to be observed. If, for instance, we find a word only a few times in poetic texts from the oldest literature, this is naturally no guarantee that the corresponding name, recorded from the 11th century, was really understood by the Anglo-Saxons of that time. And, on the other hand, it is difficult, by the aid of the words recorded from the 8th—11th centuries, to decide whether such a name as *Glappa* (c. 550) was understood by its contemporaries. Anyone who wants to ascertain the intelligibility of a special name has therefore to pay careful attention to all such factors, but for an investigation so comprehensive as the present one, such a detailed scrutiny is practically impossible. And since, in any case, it would not have given an absolutely certain result, it has been thought sufficient for my purpose to ascertain if the corresponding word occurred in the OE vocabulary regarded as a unity.

From my point of view the original signification of a name is of but little importance, when no fairly certain points of contact are found in the living language. The etymology of such names is therefore, in this connection, a more subordinate question, though it must naturally be dealt with, since an inquiry into the possibly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WEEKLEY, Surnames p. 22 ff.

existing cognates of the name in OE or other languages may shed light upon its history and even contribute to transferring it into the "intelligible" names.

To make a strict distinction between intelligible and unintelligible names is, moreover, not always easy, as will be seen in several cases in the sequel. It is often doubtful in which category a certain name is to be placed, and it is quite possible that others may not agree with the distribution here given.

Further it must be emphasized that different origins may often result in the same form, apart from the fact that the nationality cannot always be determined, as has been pointed out in the Preface. Many un-compounded names may be explained satisfactorily either as short forms or as independent formations, and in each case several etymologies are sometimes imaginable. We have not seldom double or manifold possibilities of explanation, i. e. what ANDRESEN termed "Konkurrenzen"; cf. KALBOW p. 37.

With regard to the etymologies suggested it will scarcely be necessary to draw attention to their often questionable value. To subject all these hundreds of names to a thorough etymological analysis has naturally been impossible within the range of a doctoral dissertation, and therefore I have been forced generally to confine myself to brief suggestions. In some cases I have entirely avoided giving any etymologies, and even among those given some few will probably be beyond the limits of plausibility. It is to be remembered that the subject is one in which a certain amount of guesswork is absolutely inevitable.

On the whole, however, I cannot but confess my reluctance to perform any "etymologische Kunststücke" with obscure name formations<sup>1</sup>. Those who are familiar with the etymologizing translations offered by certain authors, must necessarily resist their somewhat exaggerated desire to interpret what is uninterpretable. Without wanting particularly to charge MÜLLER with extravagances in this respect, I have quoted below some translations of his which seem to be of a doubtful nature.

The rather negative character of my treatise is accordingly not unintentional. The longer one studies OE un-compounded names, the more sceptical one feels before the vast material that so frequently defies all endeavours at interpretation. And to those who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. WREDE, Ostg. p. 13.



turn to my work in the vain hope of there finding all names definitely explained, I could not reply better than in the words by which a great English scholar tried to disarm his critics<sup>1</sup>: "As for my selfe, I acknowledge that I cannot satisfie neither them nor my selfe in all particularities : and well therefore I do like him that said, *He doth not teach well which teacheth all, leaving nothing to subtile wits to sift out.*"

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<sup>1</sup> CAMDEN, Remaines concerning Britaine p. 156.

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# Lists of Names





## I. Strong Names.

Under this heading are given such names as coincide formally with the corresponding strong substantives or adjectives, and in general all underived names with the same structure.<sup>1</sup> That the identity between, for instance, *Wulf* and the appellative *wulf*, between *Berht* and the adjective *berht* may be only apparent, inasmuch as *Wulf* and *Berht* might have originated as short forms of names compounded with *Wulf*-, *Berht*-, will be clear from what has been said in the Introduction.

Cf. FICK p. XVII ff., MÜLLER p. 138, ECKHARDT p. 332, SUNDÉN, Hypocor. suff. -y p. 144.

### 1. Masculine.

#### A.

##### a. Intelligible.

##### a. Substantives.

**Aelf** diacon K C D 931 (c. 1055)<sup>2</sup>. *Oelf* Sim. Durh. ch. 55 (791; cf. *Oelfwine* ib.)<sup>3</sup> is obviously the same name. *Aelf*... minister BCS 978 (956) is a curtailed form.

: *Aelf*-, OE *ælf* 'elf'. MÜLLER p. 88, F 64, WREDE, Ostg. p. 103. On the form *Aelf*(-) see BJÖRKMAN, Anglia Beibl. 1914 p. 358, EKWALL, Contrib. to the hist. of OE dial. p. 40 f., HOLM p. 6. — Cf. *Aelua*, *Aeffa*, *Aeffe* f., *Aelfe*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The figures within parentheses denote the date of the charter.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 307, PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 60.

**Aesc**: *Esc* Sim. Durh. ch. 31 (732); *Aesc* princeps KCD 180 (801; starred as spurious<sup>1</sup>). For *Aesc*, the son of Hengist, see *Oisc*.

: *Aesc*-, OE *æsc* 'ash-tree, spear'. MÜLLER p. 88, F 147, HOLM p. 11, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Aeschere'. — Cf. *Aesca*.

**Beorn** etc.: *Beorn* LV 15, 85, 162, 290, 296, 380; *Beornes* abbatis BCS 185 (758); *Beorn* ealdor man Chron. 779 E = *Bearn* patricius Sim. Durh. ch. 50 (780); *Beorn* eorl Chron. 1046 E, 1049 C, 1050 D; *Beorn* dux KCD 778, 781 (1045), 784 (1046), 787 (1049), 912 (Eadw. Conf.); *Beorn* mon. Grueber p. 267 (Cnut), *Beorn(n)* ib. 302 (Harold I), *Beorn* or *Biorn* (!) ib. 330, 439, (Eadw. Conf.), *Beorn* mon. Hildebrand pp. 218, 219 (Cnut), *Beornn* ib. 346, 347 (Harold I), *Beorn* ib. 434 (Eadw. Conf.), *Beorn* mon. Holm 615 (Harold I); *Beorn* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.). Here too probably belongs *Bern* Ellis, Intr. II p. 48 (cf. *Bernulf* ib.), *Bern* DB IV p. 618 (Inq. Eliens.). *Beorn* (*Beornd*) Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.) stands for *Beornic*, q. v.; see HACKENBERG p. 109 ff.

: *Beorn*-, OE *beorn* 'man, warrior'. Some of the instances from the 11th cent. are undoubtedly to be identified with Scand. *Biorn* 'bear'; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 126. MÜLLER pp. 40, 113, F 258, FORSSNER p. 45 f., ECKHARDT p. 332. — Cf. *Beorna*, *Beorra*, *Beonna*, *Beonnu*, *Beonne* f., (*Beornic*).

**Bil** Ellis, Intr. II p. 49.

: *Bil(l)*-, OE *bil(l)* 'sword'. MÜLLER p. 84, F 303, SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words p. 150. Cf. Scand. *Bil(l)i*; BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 24, Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 227 f., ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkvet. VI p. 276. — Cf. *Billing*.

**Brand**, **Brond**: *Brond* Bældæging<sup>2</sup> Chron. preface, 597 A, 855 A, *Brand* ib. 547 BC, 552 A, *Brond* Nennius ch. 61 (geneal. of Deira), *Brond* Asser ch. 1, *Brond* Aethelweard 857, *Brand* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438. This is possibly a shortened form of *Ingibrand*, *Wegbrand* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 81, 82<sup>3</sup>; see HACKENBERG p. 114. [Apart from this the name is not recorded in England before the 11th cent., and those late instances are generally regarded as foreign: *Brand* prouost Chron. 1066 E, *Brand* abb ib. 1069 E; *Brand* abbate (abl.) BCS 1280 (in confirmation from William I); *Brand*

<sup>1</sup> *Aesc* BCS 282.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.).

monachus KCD 819 (1060—6), *Brandi* (Latin dat.) ib. 904 (Eadw. Conf.), *Brand* abbud ib. 953 (c. 1066), *Brand* abbas ib. 963; *Brand* mon. Grueber p. 244 (Cnut), *Brnd* ib. p. 378, *Brand*, *Brannnd* ib. pp. 436, 437, 445 (Eadw. Conf.); *Brand* mon. Hildebrand pp. 219, 295 (Cnut); *Brand* Ellis, Intr. II p. 52.]

: *brand*, OE *brand* 'fire, flame; sword'. F 333, STARK p. 13; BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 29, 191 and note 1, Namenk. p. 27, Anglia Beibl. 1919 p. 174 ff.; FORSSNER pp. 14, 277, 282.

[**Brord** dux BCS 27 (before 672; KCD 985 starred).

According to SEARLE p. 115 the names of the witnesses in BCS 27 are copied from a charter of c. 795; in BCS 274, for instance, we find nearly all the signatories to BCS 27, among whom are *Unwona*, bishop of Leicester c. 783—803, and *Brorda*, which is the usual form of the name. See *Brorda*.]

[**Burg** rex Merciorum BCS 522 (868) = *Burgred* KCD 298 (the same charter) is probably nothing but a scribal lapse.]

**Ceol** Chron. preface, 591 ABC = *Ceolric* ib. E, *Ceola* ib. 611 A, *Ceol* Geneal. Tib. B V 171; *Ceol* BCS 267 (793; KCD 162 starred).

: *Cēol*, OE *cēol* 'ship'. MÜLLER p. 78; PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 1 f.; OMAN p. 247, note 3. — Cf. *Ceol(l)a*.<sup>1</sup>

**Ceorl** etc.: *Cearli* regis Merciorum<sup>2</sup> Beda HE II 14 (probably a North. form; cf. BÜLBRING § 140. Transl. p. 171 has *Ceorles*). The same man is called *Cherlus* Henry Hunt. II 27, and *Ceorlus* ib. p. 65 (geneal.). — *Ceorl* aldor man Chron. 851, *Ceorl* Domnaniæ comes Asser ch. 3 (851; cf. note ib. p. 175), *Ceorl* Defenum dux Aethelweard 851, *Karl* (!) Domnaniæ comes Sim. Durh. ch. 88, *Cheorl* consul Henry Hunt. VI, *Ceorli* principis BCS 451 (847). — *Ceorl* mon. Grueber pp. 343 (Eadw. Conf.), 460 (Harold II).

: OE *ceorl* 'churl, layman'.<sup>3</sup> This name has evidently, at least by some late copyists, been confused with Scand.-Continental *Carl* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 76, Namenk. p. 51, FORSSNER p. 54). One example of this has already been given above, and I may add two more: In BL 120 (773) Charlemagne is mentioned as

<sup>1</sup> *Ceolf* (passim) seems to be no real name but merely a contracted spelling of *Ceolwulf*; see MHB p. 1011.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PLUMMER, Beda II p. 103, SEARLE BKN p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Occurs rarely and only as a second member in OE names; see MÜLLER p. 126.



*Ceorlo* regi francorum. *Cearl* dux BCS 447 (844)<sup>1</sup> can scarcely be an Anglicized form of Scand. *Carl*, as BJÖRKMAN suggests (Pers. p. 77); this name is presumably identical with *Ceorl* princeps BCS 451 and *Ceorl* aldorman Chron. 851.

**Cild** mon. Grueber p. 342, Hildebrand p. 430 (Eadw. Conf.). : -*cild*, OE *cild* 'child'. As we are here concerned with a moneyer, the name cannot be interpreted as the title of nobility in Eadgar *cild*, Uhtred *cild*, etc.

**D(a)ene**: *Daene* abbatiss BCS 189 (761; KCD 106 starred); *Dene* LV 292; *Dene* Ellis, Intr. II p. 74.

: *Dene*-, OE *dene* 'Danes'. In DB perhaps only indicating nationality; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 31, 61. For the occurrence of names of peoples as personal names see SOCIN p. 213 ff., GRAPE, Studier p. 32 ff., KLUGE, Z. f. d. W. VIII p. 141 f. On the form *Daene* see SIEVERS, Anglia XIII p. 16 ff. MÜLLER pp. 40, 102, F 400, SCHÖNFELD p. 71. — Cf. *Dena*, (*Denisc*).

**Degn** mon. Grueber p. 101 (Aethelstan).

Probably = *Degn*, OE *þegn* 'servant, minister, courtier, noble', also found in compound names; cf. MÜLLER p. 126, F 1406.

**Eaern** mon. Grueber p. 245 (Cnut).

Probably = *Earn*, OE *earn* 'eagle', and names compounded with that element; cf. MÜLLER p. 80, F 135, SCHÖNFELD p. 30. — (Cf. *Earne*).

[**Eorl** : Vlf *Eorles* suna BCS 1130 (972–92) is an Anglicized form of Scand. *Iarl*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 201, note 1.]

**Frid** mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder).

: *Frid*-, OE *frid* 'peace'. MÜLLER p. 119, F 526, SCHÖNFELD p. 93. — Cf. *Fridi*, *Fredi*.

**Fugul** LV 319; *Fugel* mon. Grueber pp. 117 (Aethelstan), 132, 141 (Eadmund); *Fugle* (dat.) KCD 1290 (c. 995); *Fuglo* Ellis, Intr. II p. 114. Is *Fug* BCS 91 (716) a mutilated form of this name?

Possibly a short form of some compound with -*fugul* 'bird' (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 115, 133, 177, 190), but more likely an original pet name. Cf. OW Scand. *Fugl* (LIND), ODan. *Foghel*

<sup>1</sup> This charter has been copied in ME times. Cf. the place-names p. 27: *Cherltune* etc. It is interesting to notice the discrepancy between this place-name and *Cearl* (= *Ceorl*) above; the place-name exhibits the regular ME development, whereas the personal name remained isolated and was simply copied from the OE original.

(NIELSEN), OSw. *Fogel* (LUNDGREN); also used as a byname (KAHLE p. 233). MÜLLER p. 40, F 547, ECKHARDT p. 339.

[**Geat** : *Geat* Tætwaing<sup>1</sup> Chron. 855 AD, *Geatt* ib. C (= *Geata* ib. B); *Geat* Aethelweard 857; *Getius* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Eat* Beawing, Geneal. Tib. B V 173.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Geates* (gen.) Deor 15 (HOLT-HAUSEN, Beowulf II p. 174).

Belonging to the stem in OE *gēatas*; see SCHÖNFELD p. 103 f., and the literature there quoted. In OE names it is found as a first member only in *Geatfleda* f. BCS 1254 (late 10th cent.), and even as a second member it is rare (SEARLE p. 255; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 3). F 606, BINZ p. 152, PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 4 f., CHADWICK, Origin p. 270. — Cf. *Geata*.]

**Hauoc** DB IV p. 625 (Winton.).

: OE *hafoc* 'hawk'. Scarcely a short form of a compound name; cf. *Spearhauoc* (BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 78), *Goldhauoc* mon. Henry II (SEARLE p. 266). Cf. also LINDKVIST p. 143 ff., BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 66, Namenk. p. 44, Anglia Beibl. 1918 p. 239 f., ZACHRISSON ib. 1917 p. 371, MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 239.

**Hild** mon. Grueber p. 196, Hildebrand p. 20 (Eadw. II).

: *Hild-*, OE *hild* 'war, battle.' As it is not very likely that the fem. subst. *hild* functioned as a masc. name, this is probably only a mutilated form of some name beginning with *Hild-*. MÜLLER p. 116, F 818, SCHÖNFELD p. 136, BINZ p. 194. — Cf. *Hild* f., *Hildi*; *Hidda*, *Hiddi*, *Hiddila*.

**Hys(s)e** : *Hyse* presbyter BCS 497 (859), *Hyse* ib. 501 (c. 860); *Hyse* mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 151 (Aethelred II); *Hyssi* LV 239 (see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 263, aum. 3).

: *Hyse-*, OE *hyse* 'young man; warrior'. MÜLLER pp. 41, 117. — Cf. *Hyssa*, *Hysica*.

[**Leod** dux BCS 1044 (958) is undoubtedly identical with *Leot* dux ib. 1029, 1052, which stands for Scand. *Liótr*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 92.]

**Lind** mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 118 (Aethelred II).

: OE *lind* 'lime-tree, shield'. The only instance of its occurrence as a name-element in OE is, apart from this, *Lindwin* mon. Grueber p. 246 (Cnut). Common on the Continent; see F 1058, FORSSNER p. 277.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Godulf *Geotung* Geneal. Vesp. B. VI 110; '*Geat*... ðene þa hæþenan wurdodon for god' Textus Roffensis ed. TH. HEARNE 1720, p. 59 (quoted from PLUMMER).

**Mæg** KCD 1354 (11th. cent.).<sup>1</sup>

: *Mæg-*, OE *mæg* 'male kinsman'. MÜLLER p. 81, F 1067.

Cf. *Mecga*, *Mægla*.

**Man(n)**, **Mon(n)** : *Man* BL 49 (c. 732—42); *Mon(n)* presbyter BCS 312 (803), 378 (824), *Monn* ib. 609 (904); *Man* KCD 1290 (c. 995), *Mann* ib. 1339 (1055), *Manne* sune (gen.) ib. 1348 (c. 1060); *Mon* mon. Keary p. 85 (East Anglia, Aethelstan I); *Man(n)*, *Mon(n)* mon. Grueber passim<sup>2</sup> (Eadw. I, Cnut, Eadw. Conf.), *Man(n)* mon. Hildebrand pp. 13 (Eadgar), 153, 155 (Aethelr. II), 307 (Cnut), 435 (Eadw. Conf.); *Mann* LVH bis (c. 1030; quoted from Searle); *Man* Ellis, Intr. II p. 183.

: *Man-*, OE *man(n)* 'person'. F 1088, ECKHARDT p. 332, SCHÖNFELD p. 160 f. — Cf. *Man(n)a*, *Mannel*, *Maneca*, *Manning*, *Mon(n)ede*, (*Manne*).

[**Sprot**, *Sport* Ellis, Intr. II p. 227 (cf. *Sprottulfus* ib.); *Sprot* mon. Grueber p. 332 (Eadw. Conf.) = *Swot* q. v.

Possibly OE *sprot* 'sprout, twig', but more likely of Scand. origin; see BJÖRKMAN, Minnesskrift, utgifven af filologiska samfundet i Göteborg 1910, p. 78 f., Namenk. p. 79].<sup>3</sup>

\* **Tun** : *Tune* (dat.) Crawf. chart. 10 (1008—12).

: *Tūn-*, OE *tūn* 'enclosure, farm, house'. See Crawf. chart. p. 131, MÜLLER p. 82; cf. also O Sw. *Tune* (LUNDGREN). — Cf. *Tun(n)a*, *Tunne*.

**W(e)alh** : *Ualch* LV 170, *Walh* presbyteri BCS 91 (696—716); \**Uualh*, (*Uuales*, gen.) ib. 183 (c. 757), 223 (777), 232 (778—9); *Wealh* ib. 318 (805).

: *W(e)alh-*, OE *w(e)alh* 'foreigner, stranger, slave: Briton, Welshman'. MÜLLER pp. 41, 114, 138, F 1513, SCHÖNFELD p. 250. — Cf. *Wel(h)isc*.

**Wig** : *Wig* Freawining,<sup>4</sup> Chron. preface, 552 A, 597 A, 855 A, *Wig* Asser ch. 1, *Uuig* Aethelweard 857, *Wigius* Will. Malm. ch. 116, *Wig* Geneal. Tib. B V 173; *Wig* teignus, Ellis Intr. II p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite certain whether this is a name or not. Cf. THORPE p. 650.

<sup>2</sup> See GRUEBER p. 520; G. does not distinguish between *Man(n)*, *Man(n)a*, *Manne*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sumer* æt Stoce BCS 1130 (972—92) = *Sumerlyda* æt Stoce ib.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 133 note 2. Cf. OW Scand. *Sumarr* (LIND), OSw., ODan. *Somar* (LUNDGREN, NIELSEN). F 1368. — Does *Somer* abbas BCS 1228 (969) belong here? In BCS 1264 ('a gross forgery' KCD II p. 363 note 1) *Wymer* is substituted for this name.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.



: *Wig-*, OE *wīg* 'strife, war'. MÜLLER p. 83, F 1576; CHADWICK, Origin p. 133. — Cf. *Wi(c)ga*, *Wige*.

[*Wiht?* SEARLE quotes a similar name from Grueber, in whose index it is, however, not to be found. Searle probably refers to *Uihtes* or *Uihtseg* mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund), an instance of no great value. Whatever its origin may be, the name was no doubt associated with OE *wiht* 'wight, person, creature'. See literature cited under *Wecta*.]

[*Win(n)* mon. Grueber p. 202, Hildebrand p. 153 (Aethelr. II).

Though this might be a short form of such compounds as *Winsige*, *Wynsige* (see Grueber p. 529, Hildebrand p. 185, Holm p. 70) it is not very likely that the fem. subst. *wynn* 'joy' was used as a masc. name. Cf. the following name.]

**Wine** : *Uini* LV 461, 473; *Uini* episcopus<sup>1</sup> Beda HE III 7, 28, IV 12 (var. *Uuini*, -e; Transl. pp. 216, 410 *Wine*), *Uuine* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 17 (episc. occid. sax.); *Wine* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431; *Wine* Chron. 660 (cf. *Wina* ib. 656 E); *Wine* biscop of Lundene BCS 838 (664), *Wine* ib. 319 (805), *Wine* subdiaconus ib. 558 (871—89), *Wine* preost ib. 1132, *Wine* presbiter ib. 1133 (964—95), *Wines* (gen.) ib. 1247 (c. 970); *Wyne*<sup>2</sup> minister KCD 729 (1019), *Wine* episcopus<sup>3</sup> ib. 730 (1019), *Wine* presbiter ib. 981 (11th. cent.), *Wine*, *Winnes* (gen.) ib. 1354 (after 1050), *Wine* (gen.) sune Thorpe p. 571 (1045); *Wine* mon. Keary pp. 45 (Mercia, Berhtwulf), 65 (Burgred), *Uuine* mon. Grueber pp. 31 (Aethelr. I), 76 (Aelfred), *Wine* ib. pp. 164, 187 (Eadgar), 191, 194, 196 (Eadw. II), 202 (Aethelr. II), *Win(n)e* ib. 247, 248 (Cnut), 460 (Harold II), *Wine* mon. Hildebrand pp. 19 (Eadw. II), 41, 86, 145 (Aethelr. II), 217, 313 (Cnut), *Winee* ib. p. 313 (Cnut), *Winne* ib. 313 (Cnut); *Wine* Lib. Eliens. (c. 975; quoted from Searle); *Wine* Ellis, Intr. II p. 269, *Uuine* DB IV p. 614 (Exon.). [I am uncertain as to the interpretation of the forms *Winus* and *Winas* : *Winus* mon. Grueber pp. 260 (Cnut), 443 (Eadw. Conf.), 473 (Harold II), Hildebrand p. 212 (Cnut); *Winus* minister KCD 1318 (1033), 1322 (1035); *Wina(s)* mon. Grueber p. 202 (Aethelr. II), *Winas* or *Winus* ib. p. 247 (Cnut); *Winas* mon. Hildebrand pp. 41, 48, 68, *Vinas* ib. p. 48 (Aethelr. II), *Winas* ib. pp. 207, 212 (Cnut);

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards of London c. 660—70; see DCB.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Godwyne*, *Eadwyne* ib.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. '*Ednod* qui et *Wine*' Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum ch. 94 (*Eadnod*, bishop of Crediton c. 1010—c. 1023; SEARLE BKN p. 98).

*Winas* mon. Holm 433 (Cnut). These peculiar forms have been discussed by HOLM p. 69 f., but it seems difficult to arrive at a definite result with regard to their real nature. As is very frequent in the case of moneyers, the spellings cannot be trusted too far. *Winas* is found only on coins; *Winus* in KCD might well be interpreted as a Latinization of *Wine*, in spite of the alleged *Winhus* minister KCD 741 (1024), which form is, perhaps, only due to the etymological fancy of some scribe.]

: *Wine-*, OE *wine* 'friend'. MÜLLER pp. 41, 118, F 1608, ECKHARDT p. 332. — Cf. *Wina*, *Winele*, *Winuc*.

*Wulf* : *Wulf* mon. Grueber pp. 202 (Aethelr. II), 393 (Eadw. Conf.), Hildebrand pp. 45 (Aethelr. II), 444 (Eadw. Conf.), Holm 556 (mutilated; see ib. p. 71); *Wulf* Chron. 1010 D (= *Wulfric* ib. E); *Wulf* KCD 954 (after 1050); *Wlf* Ellis, Intr. II p. 271 is ambiguous; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 166, note 2; and possibly none of the above forms is genuinely OE. Cf. *Wulf* Beowulf 2965, 2993; BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf s. v. — *Wulfinus* abbas BCS 1178 (966) is identical with *Wulfinus* (= *Wulfwine*) ib. 1179 (966).

: *Wulf-*, OE *wulf* 'wolf'. MÜLLER p. 115, STARK p. 17, F 1639. — Cf. *Wulfa*, *Wuffa*.

### β. Adjectives.

*Aedel* dux BCS 443 (843—4). *Aethel...* ib. 424 (839) is a curtailed form.

: *Aeðel-*, OE *æðele* 'noble'. MÜLLER p. 99, F 158, SCHÖNFELD p. 33. — Cf. *Eðilu* f.<sup>1</sup>

*Berht*, *Briht* : *Berht* BCS 208 (772); *Briht* ealdorman Chron. 684 E, *Berht* ealdorman ib. 699 E; *Bercto* (abl.) Beda HE IV 26 (684; Transl. p. 504 *Beorht*)<sup>2</sup>; *Bercht* LV 104, 113, 147, 297, 302, 349, 362, 380, 384, 408, *Berct* ib. 305, 384, *Berecht* ib. 274, *Bercth* ib. 357; *Briht* mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder); *Briht* Ellis, Intr. II p. 57.

: *Be(o)rht-*, OE *be(o)rht* 'bright'. For the various forms see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 179,2. Cf. OW Scand. *Biartr* (LIND), and

<sup>1</sup> *Balder* Aethelweard 857 stands for *Bældæg*. Cf. KÖPKE, Altnord. Personennamen bei den Angelsachsen p. 10, BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> According to MHB p. 890 identical with *Berctred* Beda HE V 24 (p. 355). Cf. OMAN p. 308.

as a byname KAHLE p. 175. MÜLLER pp. 41, 123, 138 ('der Glänzenschöne'), F 277, SCHÖNFELD p. 50. — Cf. (*Bercta*), *Berhtel*.

**Blac**, *Blach* Ellis, Intr. II p. 49.

In OE *blæc*, *blac-* 'black, dark' and *blāc* 'bright, shining; pale, wan' were sometimes confused (see NED 'black'), and therefore it is not easy to decide which of these two words — if not both — we find employed as a name-element. Cf., e.g., *Blaecmon* LV 211, *Blac(a)man* Grueber p. 501, *Blacheman*, *Blacuin* etc. Ellis, Intr. II p. 49 f. *Blac(h)* was also used as a byname in OE (see Ellis ib.) just as *blakkr*, *bleikr*, *bleiki* in OW Scand. (JÓNSSON p. 209 f., KAHLE p. 170 and I. F. XIV p. 155). *Blacer* in Grueber and *Blacre* in DB probably represent Scand. *Blakkr*; see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 24 f., MÜLLER pp. 47, 95. — Cf. *Blaca*, *Bl(a)ecca*, *Blache*.

**Breme** 'liber homo Regis E. qui fuit occisus in bello Hastingensi' Ellis, Intr. II p. 52.

: OE *brēme* 'famous'? The only other name which possibly contains this word is — leaving place-names out of consideration — *Bremhelm* BCS 640 (931—40), but since KCD 368 has *Bremhe...* and the charter is, moreover, starred as spurious, this instance is, of course, of little value. Cf. F 332.

**Brun** : *Bruni*<sup>1</sup> abbatis BCS 189, 190 (761), *Bruno* (!) abbatis ib. 194 (759—65), *Brun* preost ib. 1244, *Brunes* messe preostes ib. 1245, 1248, 1249, 1253 (c. 970); *Brun* KCD 981 (c. 970), *Brun* bydel ib. 1353 (c. 1000?)<sup>2</sup>; *Brun* mon. Grueber pp. 198 (Aethelr. II), 244 (Cnut), 302 (Harold I), 326 (Harthacnut), 444 (Eadw. Conf.); Hildebrand pp. 52 (Aethelr. II), 359 (Harold I), 402 (Harthacnut), *Brumm* ib. p. 436 (Eadw. Conf.)<sup>3</sup>; *Brun*, *Brunus*, (*Bruno*, cf. FORSSNER p. 52, HILDEBRAND DB p. 332) Ellis, Intr. I p. 387, II pp. 60 f., 299, *Brun* DB IV pp. 618 (Inq. Eliens.) 623 (Winton.). Cf. *Leofred Brun* mon. Hildebrand pp. 274 (Cnut), 403 (Harthacnut), the latter an assumed byname according to HILDEBRAND p. VII; GRUEBER pp. 246, 320 reads '*Leofred* and *Brun*'.

F 338 derives this name and compounds with *Brun-*, *-brun* from OHG *brunja* 'corslet', or, where this stem is the first mem-

<sup>1</sup> Nomin. *Bruni*?

<sup>2</sup> SEARLE gives as an instance KCD 759 (c. 1057), which has *iungere-brun*, *iungrebrun*. THORPE p. 567 f. translates: 'Junker Brun'.

<sup>3</sup> For *Brunic*, *Brunine* ib.?



ber, possibly from OHG *brûn* 'brown'. Even if some compounds originally contained Prim. Germ. \**brunjō-* (e. g. OHG *Brunhard*, OE *Brunheard*), we must obviously assume that in OE *Brun(-)* was associated with *brûn* and not with *byrne*. Cf. BRUCKNER p. 239. — As to the origin and meaning of the name on Scand. soil, opinions differ; see LIND 172, LUNDGREN p. 38, NIELSEN p. 15; RYGH p. 8, JÓNSSON p. 198, KAHLE p. 171. — Cf. *Bruna*, *Bruni Brunel*, *Bruning*; *Bryni*, *Brynca*, *Brynja*, *Bryning*.

**Coen** BCS 108 (704; KCD 50 starred). Corrupt form? Cf. *Coænes* (gen.) BCS 72 (688). — *Coen...* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 60 is the same as *Coena* = *Aethelbeorht*, archbishop of York; see SEARLE BKN p. 164.

: *Cæn-*, *Cēn-*, OE *cāne*, *cēne* 'bold'. MÜLLER pp. 51, 99, F 372. — Cf. *Coena*, *Chenna*, *Chening*.

**Diar** BCS 497 (859); *Diar(mod?* = *Diormod*) mon. Keary p. 34 (Mercia, Coenwulf); *Diar* mon. Grueber pp. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 (Aethelwulf). Cf. *Deor* *Deor* 37.

: *Dēor-*, OE *dēor* 'brave, bold' or *dēore* 'dear'. MÜLLER p. 66, F 408. — Cf. *Deora*, *Diori*, *Deoring*, *Deorling*.

**Diori** etc. : *Diori* LV 361, 369, 408; *Dieres* (gen.) BCS 327 (808; KCD 193 starred); *Dyre* LVH (11th cent.; quoted from Searle).

Even if *Diori* etc. had originated as a short form of such compounds as are mentioned under the preceding name, the ending shows that it was associated with OE *dīore*, *dīere* 'dear'. I have accordingly preferred to include it here, though formally *Diori* might of course be regarded as an *i*-name, belonging to compounds with *Dīor-*; MÜLLER's translation (p. 140) "der kleine Wüterich" is evidently founded on this supposition, i. e. from his point of view *Diori* is a diminutive of the adj. *dīor* 'dirus, vehemens'. — This example shows that it is sometimes rather difficult to draw the distinction between the various categories, but the question is, after all, of no great importance.

**Dun(n)** : *Dun* abba presbyter (voc.) BCS 148 (732), 496 (858); *Dun* mon. Keary pp. 34, 35 (Mercia, Coenwulf), Grueber pp. 19, 20 (Aethelwulf), 169 (Eadgar), 193 (Eadw. II), 198 (Aethelr. II), Hildebrand p. 85 (Aethelr. II); cf. *Dyyn* mon. Grueber p. 20 = *Dun* ib. — *Dunno* (abl.) BCS 174 (747), *Dunnes* (gen.) ib. 183 (c. 757), *Dunne* ministro ib. 486 (855); *Dunn* b to Rofescæstre Chron. 740 E = *Dún* bisce to Hrofes ceastre ib. 741 A = *Dunn*

Geneal. Vesp. BVI 11, *Dunn* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 430; *Dunn* mon. Keary p. 40 (Mercia, Ceolwulf), Grueber pp. 29 (Aethelr. I), 57 (Aelfred), 161 (Eadwig); cf. *Dunno* Ellis, Intr. II p. 76, *Dūnus* DB IV p. 606 (Exon.).

It is uncertain whether these instances represent one or two names. SWEET in his glossary to OET distinguishes two: 1. *Dunn* p. 559, 2. *Dūn* p. 636, which the spellings *Dunn*, *Dūn* in Chron. seem to support. Curiously enough they designate there the same person, but, to judge from most records (see SEARLE BKN p. 16), his name was probably *Dunn*. The form *Dūn* is then to be interpreted by assuming that a name with a long vowel really existed and was substituted in 'A by the copyist for the original *Dunn*. Yet it is hardly advisable to lay too much stress upon this isolated instance, and since *Dun* may quite as well stand for *Dunn* as for *Dūn*, it will perhaps be safest to take all the forms as representing one name with a short vowel. Both words, OE *dunn* 'dun, dingy brown, dark-coloured' and OE *dūn* 'down, hill', are supposed to be of Celtic origin (see NED 'dun, down', HOLDER I 1374 ff.), but as they are quite naturalized in OE it has been thought appropriate to include the name *Dun(n)* among the native ones. KEMBLE, Names p. 99, F 432, HOLM p. 29. — Cf. *Dunna*, *Dunne* m. and f., *Dunning*, *Dynne*.

**Fram** mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan).

: *Fram-*, OE *fram* 'strenuous, active, bold'. F 513, FORSSNER p. 91. — Cf. *Froma*, *Frome*; *Fron*.

**Frod** : *Frod* BCS 73 (689), *Frodi* (Lat. gen.; nomin. *Frodi*?) ib. 97, 98 (697) [= *Froda* abbas ib. 108 (704)?]; *Frood* LV 97.

: *Frōd-*, OE *frōd* 'wise : old'. MÜLLER p. 42, F 541, BINZ p. 174, OLRİK, Danmarks Heltedigtning II p. 266, FORSSNER p. 95 f., BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Froda'. — Cf. *Froda*.

[**Froð** mon. Grueber pp. 142, 148 (Eadred) is obviously the same man as *Froðric* ib., for which form see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 35. Cf. the preceding name.]

**God** : *God* mon. Grueber pp. 80 (Aelfred), 216, 217, 225 (Aethelr. II), 245 (Cnut), 314, *Godd* ib. p. 316 (Harold I)<sup>1</sup>; *God* mon. Hildebrand pp. 41, 54, 67, 111, 143 (Aethelr. II), 216, 229, 269, 270, 307, 310, *Godd* ib. pp. 216, 270 (Cnut), 361, 372 (Harold I), *God* mon. Holm 59, 60, 102, 103, 104, 241 (Aethelr. II),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *God Widia*, *Godwine Widia* Grueber p. 447 (Eadw. Conf.).

441 (Cnut); *God* minister KCD 629 (981; starred); *God* Ellis, Intr. II p. 119. — Cf. also *Godgod* mon. Grueber p. 245, Hildebrand p. 271 (Cnut), interpreted by GRUEBER as a reduplicated form; see SEARLE p. XIII, ZACHRISSON, E. St. L p. 347, BJÖRKMAN, ib. LI p. 172, FORSSNER p. 188 note 1.

: *God-*, OE *gōd* 'good', or possibly *gōd* 'god'. HOLM asserts p. 39 that the subst. *gōd* is inconceivable as a name, whereas at the bottom of the same page he says that it would be strange if *gōd-* were not used as a name-element in OE as well as in Scand. and in OHG. But if this were really the case it is not easy to see why short names should not be formed from these compounds just in the same way as from all others. Thus it can hardly be denied that *gōd* might occur as a personal name in OE, even though, from a semasiological point of view, it seems more likely that we are here concerned with the adj. *gōd*. The spellings *Godd* on coins prove nothing. — F 659, 676, SCHÖNFELD p. 111, FORSSNER p. 118, LÄFFLER, *Namn och Bygd* 1918 p. 155. (For *-god* as a second member in OE names see ZACHRISSON, E. St. L p. 341 ff., LII p. 194 ff., and BJÖRKMAN, ib. LI p. 161 ff.). — Cf. *Goda* m. and f., *Godi*, *Goding*.

[*Hard*', *Har* Ellis, Intr. II p. 140, are evidently only curtailed forms of compounds with *Hard-*, OE *h(e)ard* 'hard'. MÜLLER p. 124, F 749. — Cf. *Hearding*.]

[*Healf*? mon. Grueber p. 32 (Aelfred).

: OE *healf* 'half', otherwise recorded only in *Healfdene* etc., which is of Scand. origin; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 61 f. — F 739.]

**Lang** Ellis, Intr. II p. 155, *Lanc* ib. p. 154, *Lanch* ib. p. 155 is perhaps only an error for *Langfer*, *Lancfer* ib. Cf., however, bynames such as *Edric lung* ib., *Aetheric þes langa* BCS 1130 (972—92), *Eadweard se langa* Byrhtnoth 273, *Leofwine lange* Chron. 1070 E, *Godricus longus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 124. Cf. also *Langa* LVD p. 79, *Langlif* etc. ib. p. 5 etc. (12th cent.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 89 f., *Namenk.* p. 59).

It may be doubted whether native compounds with *Lang-*, OE *lang* 'long', really existed in OE, and even later compounds apparently containing this element are possibly sometimes due to a confusion with *Land-*. F 1012. — Cf. *Lange*.

**Leof** : *Leof* presbyter KCD 981 (c. 970)<sup>1</sup>; *Leofus* lay brother

<sup>1</sup> *Leof*... presbiter Thorpe p. 631.



LVH (c. 1030; quoted from Searle) and *Liofus* Ellis, Intr. I p. 447, II p. 349, may be Latinized forms of *Leofa*, *Liofa*, q. v.; *Leofus* BCS 555 (880—5) in the Latin text of Aelfred's will is the same as *Leofheah* in the OE version ib. 553 (and *Leofhath* in an early ME translation ib. 554); *Leof* Will. Malm. ch. 144 is identical with *Liofa* Chron. 946 D, and in *Leof Aedelwold* BCS 819 (946—55) EARLE<sup>1</sup> takes *Leof* as equivalent to. "Sire, My lord." Thus not a single instance is absolutely certain.<sup>2</sup>

: *Lēof-*, OE *lēof* 'dear'. MÜLLER p. 97, F 1018, SCHÖNFELD p. 153. — Cf. *Leof(f)a*, *Leofe* m. and f., *Leofic*, *Leofeca*, *Leofing*.

[*Swart*, *Swert* etc. In all probability a Scand. name. See BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 135, Anglia Beibl. 1918 p. 310 f., ZACHRISSON ib. 1917 p. 372. Note, however, *Sguerthing* Nennius ch. 61 = *Swæta* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.); cf. MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf pp. 16, 67, HACKENBERG p. 108, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Swerting'.]

**Swet** : *Swet* (or *Sweta*) mon. Grueber p. 247, *Swet* mon. Hildebrand pp. 207, 215, Holm 438 (Cnut); *Suet* Ellis, Intr. II p. 232, *Suetth* ib. p. 233; *Suettus* DB IV p. 613 (Exon.).

: *Swēt-*, OE *swēte* 'sweet'. HOLM p. 64. — Cf. *Sweta*, *Swete*, *Sweting*, and the following name.

**Swot** : *Swot* mon. Grueber p. 321 (Harthacnut), *Swot* (or *Swota*) ib. pp. 333, 341 (Eadw. Conf.), *Swot* mon. Hildebrand p. 396 (Harthacnut); *Suot* DB IV p. 629 (Winton.); in *Godric Swot* mon. Hildebrand p. 248 (Cnut) the editor (p. VII) regards *Swot* as a byname, while Grueber p. 280 reads 'Godric and *Swot* (or *Spot*)'.

Belonging to the same stem as the preceding name. For the interchange *ē* : *ō* cf. the adj. *swēte* : the adv. *swōte* (SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 315, anm. 3), and also *swēte* : *swōtstenc* (KLUGE, Nom. Stammbildungslehre § 180, Urgermanisch § 279). — Cf. *Swota*, *Swote*.

**Wacer** mon. Grueber p. 191 (Eadw. II). Cf. also 'Lacer or Sacer' mon. ib. p. 196 (Eadw. II), 'Wacer de Suafham' (c. 975) Lib. Eliens. (quoted from Searle).

: OE *wacor* 'watchful, vigilant', or compounds such as *E(a)d-wacer* mon. Grueber pp. 199, 310. — F 1489, SCHÖNFELD p. 249.

<sup>1</sup> Handbook to the land-charters and other Saxon documents (Oxford, 1888) II p. 360. Not accessible to me; quoted from Searle.

<sup>2</sup> Does *Lofus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 350 stand for *Leofus*?

[**Wester** liber homo Guert, Norf., *Westre* Yorksh., Ellis, Intr. II p. 266, is probably a Scand. loan (Cf. *Vestarr*, *Vestri* LIND) and not to be connected with the mysterious compound *Westerfalca* Chron. 560, *Uestorualcna* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 74. F 1560.]

**Wid** KCD 940 (c. 1060).

: *Wīd*-, OE *wīd* 'wide'. MÜLLER p. 98, F 1562, FORSSNER p. 254. — Cf. *Uīduc*.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Cudd** abbatis BCS 210 (772), *Cudd* abbas ib. 226 (775—8).

A short form of compounds with *Cuð*-. See further below under *Cudda*, *Cuða*.

**Dud(d)** : *Duddo* abbati BL 34 (735); *Duddi* abbatis BCS 1331 (739), *Dud* abba ib. 168 (744; cf. note Crawf. chart. p. 46), *Dudd* presbyter ib. 312 (803), *Dudd* diaconus ib. 332 (811); *Dudd* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 21 (episc. uenta civ.)<sup>1</sup>, *Dudd* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431, *Dudd* Ags. Min. p. 106 (episc. occ. sax.); *Dudd* mon. Keary pp. 26, 30 (Mercia, Offa; Index p. 264 = *Udd* ?), Grueber p. 32 (Aelfred); *Dudde* sunu KCD 866 (Eadw. Conf.)<sup>2</sup>.

This name belongs to a group of names of debated etymology, which is copiously represented in OE. See SCHÖNFELD p. 72 and literature there quoted. According to SOCIN p. 195 it is a lall-name. — Cf. *Dud(d)a*, *Dudde* m. and. f., *Duddel*, *Dyddel*, *Dudele*, *Dudecil*, *Duduc*, *Duduca*, *Duducol*, *Dudig*, *Dud(d)ing*; *Dod(d)a*, *Dod(d)e*, *Doding*.

\* **Gadd** : *Gaddes* (gen.) Byrhtnoth 287.

Probably belonging to the same stem as OE (*ge*)*gada* 'comrade, companion' (cf. TORP, Wortschatz p. 123, F 563), which is also recorded, though only rarely, as an element in compound OE names. — OE *gād* 'goad' or Scand.-ME *gaddr* (= OE *gierd*, see BJÖRKMAN, Loanwords p. 168 f.) are scarcely to be taken into account. — *Gād* Aelfric LS II p. 406 was the brother of the Indian king Gondophares. — Cf. *Gadinc*.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Winchester 781—5; SEARLE BKN p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Index Saxonicus also gives BCS 476, 1085, 1101 as instances, but those charters have *Dudd* (*Dudde*?) in *place-names* (*Duddes bearuðu*, *byri*, *hyrnan*), without this being indicated in any way in the Index, a method of procedure that reduces to no small extent its reliability as a guide to the occurrence of personal names in BCS.

[**Hathor** BCS 254 (778).

As is shown by SEARLE p. 281, this is an error for *Hathored*, bishop of Worcester, whose name occurs in BCS 247, 265 etc.]

**Hun** : *Hunes*<sup>1</sup> præfecti BCS 377 (824), 390 (825), 391 (826), *Hūnes* præfecti ib. 392 (826). *Hunes* (nominative!)<sup>2</sup> minister ib. 393 (826), *Hunes* præfecti ib. 398 (c. 830)<sup>3</sup>; *Hún* minister ib. 648 (c. 930), *Hun* minister ib. 702 (934). Cf. *Hún* Widsith 33 (BINZ p. 221, CHAMBERS p. 201).

: *Hūn*-, related to OWScand. *húnn* 'a young bear'? See FORSSNER p. 159 and SCHÖNFELD pp. 143, 277, where further references are given. In OE associated with *hūnas* 'the Huns'? MÜLLER pp. 55, 114, F 929, HOLM p. 44 f. — Cf. *Hun(n)a*, *Hune* m. and f., *Huni(g)a*, *Huning*; *Hyni*, *Hynca*.

**Immin** : *Immin* dux Merciorum Beda HE III 24 (*Immen* Transl. p. 314). Cf. *Immine* principis BCS 22 (664); *Immine* ealdorman Chron. 656 E (= BCS 838).

A short form of compounds with *Irmin*-, for which see FORSSNER p. 69 and literature there quoted. — Cf. *Imma*.

[**Mal(f)** Ellis, Intr. I p. 449 f., II pp. 183, 351 (byname?).

Scarcely native. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 94, FORSSNER p. 184 f. — Cf. *Mala*, *Mali*.]

**Nun** Chron. 710 AE (= *Nunna* ib. BC), *Nun* Flor. Worc. 710. See *Nunna*.

## B.

### a. Intelligible.

#### α. Substantives.

**Abbud** presbyter BCS 610 (c. 904; KCD 1083 starred).

: OE *abbud* 'abbot'. Seems rather suspicious; cf., however, OW Scand. *Abote* klærker (LIND) and OE *Preost*.

[**Bar** Ellis, Intr. II p. 47, which form SEARLE p. 80 — though hesitatingly — connects with OE *bār* 'boar', is no doubt the same name as Scand. *Barn* ib.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 25, Namenk. p. 22.]

<sup>1</sup> The nominative may of course be *Hune*, but as no certain instances of that name are on record till DB, these early genitives can safely be placed here.

<sup>2</sup> An error; cf. *Monnedes* just before.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aethelweard 823: '*Hun* ibi occiditur dux provinciae Sumorsæton'.



[**Bearn** (var. *Bern*) 'a name inscribed on a burial pyramid at Glastonbury' Will. Malm. ch. 21. (*Bearn* patricius Sim. Durh. ch. 50 = *Beorn* q. v.).

: OE *bearn* 'child' — if this very uncertain instance is to be taken into consideration at all. The only compounds with *-bearn* in OE are of Scand. origin (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 46, 79, Namenk. p. 54), and this may of course also be an Anglicized form. *Bearnhard* LV 463 is probably equivalent to *Beorn-* (cf. SWEET OET p. 529) in spite of MÜLLER's arguments pp. 5, 78. — Cf. the preceding name.<sup>1</sup>

**Brid(d)** : *Brid* mon. Keary p. 43 (Mercia, Berhtwulf), Grueber pp. 13, 19 (Aethelwulf), 272 (Cnut), *Brid* or *Bridd* ib. p. 302 (Harold I), *Bridd* ib. p. 320 (Harthacnut), *Brid* ib. pp. 376, 377, 378 (Eadw. Conf.); *Brid* mon. Hildebrand p. 235 (Cnut), *Brid(d)* ib. p. 350 (Harold I), 437 (Eadw. Conf.).

: OE *bridd* 'young bird'. — Cf. *Fugul*.

[**Byri** mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 74 (Aethelred II).

Probably not identical with OE *byre* 'child, young man' (cf. F 351, SCHÖNFELD p. 58) but only an error for *Byrning* ib. HILDEBRAND p. 74, note 2, characterizes the coin in question as a careless piece of work.]

[**Casaer** LV 6 (MÜLLER p. 39); *Casere* Flor. Worc. p. 249, in the geneal. of the East Anglian kings, is the same as *Casser* Nennius ch. 59, *Care* . . . Geneal. Vesp. B VI 121, *Caser* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438.

Cf. OE *Cæsere* 'Cæsar, emperor'. See GRIMM, D. Myth. IIIp. 381.]

**Cniht** etc.: *Cyniht* or *Cniht* mon. Grueber p. 244, *Cniht*, *Cnht*, *Cyniht* mon. Hildebrand p. 233 (Cnut); cf. also *Cnit* or *Cynt* mon. Grueber p. 198 (Cnut), *Cnit*, *Cynt* mon. Hildebrand p. 71, *Cnit* mon. Holm 117 (Aethelr. II).

: OE *cniht* 'boy, youth'. SEARLE p. 137 cites from RUDING a compound *Cnihtwine* mon. Will. I, which I am not in a position

<sup>1</sup> [**Biscop** : 'duce abbate *Biscopo* cognomine *Benedicto*' Beda HE IV 18, 'adulescens nomine *Biscop* cognomento *Benedicto*' ib. V 19; *Biscopus* cognomento *Benedictus* Beda H Abb. ch. 1; *Biscop* Baducing, Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 3, Fridegoda, Wilfr. p. 110; *Biscop* Beding Geneal. Vesp. B VI 107, *Beoscep* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437 (*Bisceop* Geneal. Tib. BV 172) (cf. DCB I p. 308); *Biscopus* (abbas) LV 78, *Biscop* (presbyter) ib. 102; *Biscop* Ellis, Intr. II p. 49 (name?). — "It is probably a mere accident of language that this name happens to coincide with the Saxon equivalent of 'episcopus' (PLUMMER, Beda II. p. 355). Cf. also MÜLLER pp. 40, 122, 128, SOGIN p. 216. Yet, the name must have been regarded as identical with OE *biscop* 'bishop', as is seen from the translation quoted by PLUMMER l. c.]

to verify. Some of the instances above stand perhaps for Scand. *Cnut* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 82, Namenk. p. 56). F 370, HOLM p. 25.

**Dirling** KCD 981 (c. 950?); *Dirlinges* (gen.) Thorpe p. 636 (11th cent.).

: OE *dēorling*, *dīrling* etc. 'darling.' Also found as a pet name : Aelmer *Deorlinge* Chron. 1016 E = A. *Dyrling* ib. D.

**Esne** etc. : *Esne* comitis BCS 190 (761), *Esni* (gen.) ib. 193 (762), *Esne* (gen.) ib. 194 (759—65), 195 bis (764), *Esni* (gen.) ib. 196 (765), *Esne* ib. 201 (767; in an endorsement from c. 800), *Esni* ducis ib. 205 (764—75), *Esni* (gen.) ib. 213, 214 (774), *Esnes* principis ib. 223 (777), *Esni* (gen.) ib. 227 (778), *Esne* principis ib. 230 bis, 231 (779), *Esni* principis ib. 232 (779), *Esni*s principis ib. 235 (780), *Esne* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Esne* ib. 274 (793—6), *Esne* (gen.) ib. 279 (796), *Esne* princeps ib. 293 (799), *Esne* ib. 303 (801), 318, 319 (805), *Esne* comes ib. 328 (809), *Esne* ib. 364 (796—819), *Esne* presbiter ib. 379 (824), *Esne* minister ib. 469, 472,<sup>1</sup> 475, 476, 477, 478, 481 (854), *Esne* minister ib. 491 (856); *Esne* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 50<sup>2</sup>, *Esne* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433 = *Aeine* episcopus BCS 250 (787; cf. Alcuin, Epistolæ p. 29, note 6); — *Aesne* minister BCS 468, 473, 474 (854; cf. above); — *Esme* comiti ib. 244 (784) is probably only an error for *Esne*; — *Oesne* ib. 208 (772) seems to be coined to *Esne* by analogy with *Oese* : *Ese*, though *Oe-* is etymologically incorrect in *Oesne*; — *Osne* dux BCS 206 (770) is either due to the preceding form, or else we have to consider it as being influenced by *Osa*, *Osmundus* in the same charter (KCD 1009 has *Esne* dux). Cf. also Mucele (dat.) *Esninge* BCS 416 (836).

: OE *esne* 'labourer, slave : youth, man'. Compounds with *Esne-* are not on record in OE till DB : *Esnebern* Ellis, Intr. I p. 414, *Esneburn* ib. II p. 109, which forms are, however, probably to be looked upon as only somewhat fanciful spellings of Scand. *Esbeorn*, *Asbeorn* etc. (both are derived from Yorkshire; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 10). KEMBLE, Names p. 101.

[**Fin(n)** : *Finn* Goduulfing<sup>3</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 110, *Finn* Geneal. Tib. B V 172, 173, *Finn* Chron. 547 BC, *Fin* ib. 855 A, *Finn* Asser ch. 1, *Fin* Aethelweard 857, *Finnus* Will. Malm. ch. 116. Cf. *Fin(n)* Beowulf 1068 etc., *Finn* 58, Widsith 27 (BINZ

<sup>1</sup> *Erue* KCD 1050 (starred).

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Hereford c. 784—8; SEARLE BKN p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

p. 179). *Fin(n)* etc. in DB is probably Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 40, 191.

On this name see SCHÖNFELD p. 276 and literature there quoted. KARSTEN in Stud. i nord. fil., utg. gen. H. Pipping, IX, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Finn, Finnas'.]

**Fisc** liber homo Ellis, Intr. II p. 111 (Norf.).

: OE *fisc* 'fish'. In OW Scand., *fiskr* is found as a byname (KAHLE p. 234). F 507.

**Hengist** etc. : *Hengist* Beda HE I 15, II 5 (var. *Haengist*, *Heangist*; Transl. pp. 42, 132 *Hengest*), *Hengest* Uitting Geneal. Vesp. B VI 114, *Hengest* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Hengist(us)*, *Henegistus* Nennius ch. 31, 37, 38, 43, 45, 56, 57, *Hengest* Chron. 448 F, 449, 455, 456 E, 457 A, 465, 473, *Hengest* Aethelweard 449, 455, 457, 473, 488, 514, 596, 787, 800, *Hengest* Aelfric LS I p. 422, *Hengst* Flor. Worc. 450 etc.

: OE *hengest* 'stallion, steed, horse'. The conqueror of Kent is probably identical with the *Hengest* mentioned in Beowulf 1083 etc., Finn 19; cf. CHADWICK, Origin pp. 45 note, 52 f., MEYER, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Eroberung Englands p. 49 ff., BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf s. v. 'Hengist, Eotan'. According to other authorities the historical character of *Hengist* is highly questionable; see MARTIN in DNB, and literature there quoted, JOHANSSON, Arkiv f. nord. fil. XXXV p. 9. Cf. also BINZ p. 182 f.<sup>1</sup>

**Hiordi** LV 103, 319. Cf. also *Hiardi* mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 165 (Aethelr. II; doubtful).

: OE (North.) *hiorde* (W. Sax. *hierde*) 'shepherd'. The compound *Heordwaldus* Sim. Durh. ch. 34 is an error for *Hereweald*, bishop of Sherborne; cf. SEARLE BKN p. 76. — MÜLLER p. 41.

**Holt** liber homo, Ellis, Intr. II p. 148 (Essex).

: OE *holt* 'forest, wood, grove', or *hold* 'gracious, friendly, faithful'. Cf. FORSSNER p. 154.

**Hooc** presbiter et abbas BCS 81 (692—3), 82 (693), 87 (695); *Hoch* Ellis, Intr. II p. 147. Cf. *Hoc* Beowulf 107, *Hocingas* Widsith 29.

: OE *hōc* 'hook'. F 861, BINZ p. 181 f., OLRİK, Danmarks Heltedigtning I p. 67 f., BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Hoc'. MUCH, Hoops Reallex. IV p. 420, translates *Hōc* by 'Bock',

<sup>1</sup> PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 11, suggests that *Hengest* and *Aesc* are abstractions from *yðhengest* and *æsc* in the sense of 'ship'; cf., however, *Horsa* and *Oisc*. — HACKENBERG's attempt (p. 92 f.) to derive *Hengist* from OHG *hemd* + *gîs* "unter Anlehnung an ags. *g(i)est*" is scarcely to be taken seriously.



i. e. he connects the name with OE *hēcen* 'kid'; see TORP, *Wortschatz* p. 67. — Cf. *Hoce*, *Hocca*, *Hac(c)a*.

**Horling** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 150.

: OE *hōring*, ME *hōrling* 'adulterer, fornicator'.<sup>1</sup>

**Horn** mon. Grueber p. 423 (Eadw. Conf.). The inscription on the coin in question is *Lifwine Horn on Rof*, and it might therefore be assumed that *Horn* is a byname. *Horne* actually occurs in that function in DB; see Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 150 (cf. HILDEBRAND p. VII, BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 47). But since contemporary coins from the same place have the inscription *Lifwine on Rofe*, GRUEBER is probably right in distinguishing between the two names.

: OE *horn* 'horn'. F 867.

**Hors**, see *Horsa*.

[**Hrof** Beda HE II 3.<sup>2</sup>

As is well known, we have here one of the earliest examples of popular place-name etymology in English. During the Roman period Rochester was called *Durobrivæ* and *Rotibis* (of Celtic origin, see TAYLOR, *Names and their histories* p. 237). In OE the latter was transformed into *Hrofesceaster*, and from this Bede inferred that the city had been founded by a man called *Hrof*. Cf. *ciuitatem Hrofi* Beda HE II 6.]

**Meaw?** : Algarus filius *Meawes* Flor. Worc. 1016.

: OE *mēaw*, *mēaw* 'mew, sea-gull'? In OW Scand. the synonyms *már* and *mási* were used both as proper names and by-names; cf. LIND, LUNDGREN (uncertain), NIELSEN; KAHLE p. 233.

**Mul** etc. : *Mul* Ceadwallan broþur Chron. 685 A, 686 E, 687, 694 = *Mál* ib. 686 A; *Muul* LV 336.

: OE *mūl* 'mule', if not of Celtic origin; see HOLDER II 651. It is noteworthy that *Mul*'s brother *Ceadwalla* bore a Celtic name. *Mule*, *Mulo* in DB, on the other hand, are most likely Scand. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 96, *Namenk.* p. 62, *Anglia Beibl.* 1917 p. 210, 1918 p. 235 ff., ZACHRISSON, *Stud. i mod. språkvet.* VI p. 293, *Anglia Beibl.* 1917 p. 372. — KEMBLE, *Names* p. 84 f., MÜLLER p. 42, OMAN p. 311, MAWER, *M. L. R.* XIV p. 242.

<sup>1</sup> Recorded from AD 1200; se NED s. v.

<sup>2</sup> 'Iustum uero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinauit in ciuitate *Dorobreuī*, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur *Hrof*, *Hrofescæstræ* cognominat'.

**Mus** mon. Grueber p. 246 (Cnut). If this instance is taken from *Aelfwine* *Mus* mon. ib. p. 243 we have here a parallel to (*Lifwine*) *Horn* above. Cf. HILDEBRAND p. VII. The example adduced by SEARLE p. 568 from MONTAGU is probably the same as the one here cited.

: OE *mūs* 'mouse'. Cf. OWScand. *mús*, *músi* as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 307, KAHLE p. 231).

**Oter** : *Oter* mon. Keary p. 25 (Mercia, Offa), *Oter* Thorpe pp. 617, 636 (11th cent.).

: OE *otor* etc. 'otter'? In OW Scand. *otr* is found both as a byname (KAHLE p. 232) and as a proper name (LIND). Cf. however FORSSNER p. 196.

\***Pic** : *Pices* (gen.) Thorpe p. 617 (11th cent.).

: OE *pic* 'point, pointed tool'. Cf. Aluric *pic* Ellis, Intr. II p. 29; HILDEBRAND DB p. 341, JÓNSSON p. 342. For the etymology see BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 267. — Cf. *Piichil*.

[**Port** Chron. 501.<sup>1</sup>

Since Portsmouth was the *Portus Magnus* of the Romans, *Port* is no doubt to be looked upon only as a mythical eponymous hero (cf. HODGKIN p. 87), but in this case the false etymology happens to be a correct one in so far as OE *port* 'harbour' is an early Latin loan. — Cf. *Hrof*.]

**Preost** presbiter BCS 379 (824).

: OE *prēost* 'priest'. — Cf. *Abbud*.

[**Sce(a)f** : *Scef*<sup>2</sup> Aethelweard 857, *Sceaf* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Seth*, *Sem* (error for *Sceaf*, see HENNING, Z. f. d. A. XLI p. 161) Asser ch. 1, *Scef* Geneal. Tib. B V 173; cf. '*Seth*, Saxonice *Sceaf*' Flor. Wore. in the oldest MS. (not printed, see PLUMMER's note Chron. II p. VII). Cf. also Bedwig (Beowi) *Sceafing* Chron. 855 BCD.

: OE *scēaf* 'sheaf'. *Sceaf* in the genealogies is a mythical figure, originally the demon of the last sheaf; see BJÖRKMAN's paper on this in E. St. LII p. 145 ff. BRANDL, Archiv CXXXVII p. 14, takes William of Malmesbury to task for having first connected *Sceaf* with OE *scēaf*, since "we never find an Anglo-Saxon man named after an agricultural object". It is of course not permissible simply to transfer principles of historical nomenclature to

<sup>1</sup> 'Her cuom *Port* on Bretene. 7 his II suna Bieda 7 Mægla mid II scipum. on þære stowe þe is gecueden *Portes mufa*'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

mythical or legendary names. In passing it may also be remarked that BRANDL's etymology of *Sceafing* 'Kahn-mensch' (l. c. p. 18 ff.) seems quite impossible. — Cf. *Sceua*.]

**Scilling** : *Scillingis* (gen.) BCS 181 (755—7), *Scilling* presbyter ib. 186 (759), *Scillinges* pr̄ ib. 200 (766), *Scilling* ib. 224 (778?), *Scillinges* . . . fecti ib. 225 (778). Cf. *Scilling* Widsith 103.

The name is probably derived from the stem \**skell-* 'to resound, ring' in OE *scyl* 'sonorous, shrill' (NED 'shill'), and therefore the coincidence with OE *scilling* 'shilling' is perhaps only accidental. This word, however, possibly belongs to the same root (NED). Cf. KEARY p. VIII, BJÖRKMAN, Finsk tidskrift 1915 p. 457, SCHRÖDER, K. Z. XLVIII p. 254 ff.

**Scot** mon. Grueber p. 201, Hildebrand p. 141 (Aethelr. II).

: OE *Scottas* 'the Scots'? Cf. *Scot(e)kol* in DB (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 124), where — provided that the explanation given by BJÖRKMAN is correct<sup>1</sup> — *Scot* is not to be regarded as an ordinary first element of compounds but rather as a national byname, though placed in front of the real name. F 1309. — Cf. *D(a)ene*.

[**Scyld** Aethelweard 857; *Sceldius* Will. Malm. ch. 116. Cf. *Scyld* Beowulf 4, 19, 26.

: OE *sciold*, *scyld* 'shield, protector'. See BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 145 ff.]

[**Searu** presbyter BCS 604, 612 (904) = *Sedru* presbyter ib. 613 (904).

Apparently OE *searu* 'armour', but as has already been pointed out by FORSSNER p. 223 note 1, this element is not found in genuine OE names. Probably corrupt. — F 1299.]

**Smelt** presbyter KCD 1322 (1035).

: OE *smelt* 'sardine, smelt'? — Cf. *Fisc*.

**Sol** Ellis, Intr. II p. 226.

This name seems to be identical with OE *sōl* 'sun', a substantive recorded in BOSWORTH-TOLLER and CLARK HALL. In my opinion it is, however, doubtful whether such a word really existed in OE<sup>2</sup>, and therefore I prefer to look upon the name as Celtic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KAHLE p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> According to the dictionaries it occurs in a passage in the Paris Psalter: 'Ne ðe sunne on dæge sol ne gebærne' = 'per diem sol non uret te', but this example is evidently of no value, since the Latin *sol* has only slipped, by mistake into the OE text. — *Solmōnað* 'February' most likely contains OE *sol* 'mud'; cf. Swed. *Göjemånad*. — In *solmerca* 'sundial' (see NAPIER, Contrib.



with perhaps the same meaning, it is true, and of the same ultimate origin; cf. HOLDER II 1599 ff., STOKES p. 292. OE *sol* 'mud' can hardly be taken as a possibility. Cf. *Solaman* LVD p. 64 (12th or 13th cent.). HELLWIG p. 11, MÜLLER p. 59, F 1352, 1371. — Cf. *Sola*.

**Starline**, *Starlingus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 229.

: OE *stærling* 'starling'. Cf. *Aluricus Stari* Ellis, Intr. II p. 228; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 128.

**Stric** : *Strices* (gen.) BCS 1130 (972—92); *Stric* Ellis, Intr. II p. 230.

See *Stric(c)a*.

**Sutere** mon. Grueber p. 463 (Harold II).

: OE *sūtere* 'shoemaker'? Possibly corrupt.

[**Swan(us)**, Anglicized form of Scand. *Sveinn* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 139 f., HøLM p. 63.]

**Swenc(?)** : *Swenc* (*Swencel* etc.) mon. Grueber p. 247 (Cnut). Cf. *Lefstan Swenc* mon. Hildebrand p. 274 (Cnut); according to HILDEBRAND pp. VII, 274 note 1, a byname.

: OE (*ge*)*swenc* 'trouble, tribulation, toil'? — Cf. *Suince*, *Swencel*.

[**Torn** Ellis, Intr. II p. 242, can scarcely be connected with OE *torn* 'anger, misery; bitter', but stands merely for *Torfin* or some other Scand. name beginning with *T(h)or*-; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 146 ff., Namenk. p. 84 f.]

**Uuedr** abbas BCS 108 (704; KCD 50 starred).

: OE *weder* 'weather'. Cf. O Swed. *Vædher* (LUNDGREN). But we ought perhaps rather to read \**Uuedr*, OE *wæðer* 'wether sheep, ram'. Cf. OW Scand. Ketill *veðr* 'Vædder'; dog foreligger her mulig *veðr* *vejr*" (JÓNSSON p. 304).

**Welp** Ellis, Intr. II p. 265 (Yorks.); cf. Aluric *Uuelp* ib. (Oxf.).

: OE *hwelp* 'whelp'. For the spelling without *h*- cf. *wit*, *unit* = *hwit* ib. II p. 270. Cf. ODan. *Hwelp* (NIELSEN), OW Scand. *Hvelpr* (LIND); also used as a byname (RYGH p. 30, JÓNSSON p. 306).

to OE lexicography p. 350) we certainly meet with a word meaning 'sun', but as the inscription dates from a rather late period, it is not advisable to conclude anything from this isolated instance.

## β. Adjectives.

[**Brad** mon. Grueber p. 437 (Eadw. Conf.) stands for *Brand* ib. — Cf. *Brada*.]

[**Denisc** BCS 1244 (c. 970).

: OE *Denisc* 'Danish'. Scarcely a real name.]

**Grene** Ellis, Intr. II p. 131 (Sussex).

: OE *grēne* 'green : young, immature'. If this is correct we are of course concerned with an original byname, but even in that function *grēne* seems rather strange<sup>1</sup>, and therefore it would perhaps be preferable to regard *Grene* as a corrupt form. — OW Scand. *grein*, OE Scand. *gren* 'branch, bough', in *Grenesbi* etc., is scarcely possible; cf. LINDKVIST p. 55 f., BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 38, Scand. loan-words p. 43.

**Hean** : *Hean* abbas BCS 29 (675), *Hean* patricius ib. 74 (688—90), *Hean* abbati ib. 100, 101 (699).

: OE *hēan* 'lowly, despised, poor.' The compounds quoted by SEARLE p. 285 are doubtful. Cf. FORSSNER p. 147, STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. IV p. 359.

\***Prud** : *Prudes* (gen.) BCS 1250 (c. 970).

: late OE *prūd*, *prūt* 'brave, gallant' (<OF *prūd*, *prōd*; see NED 'proud')? Otherwise the locality seems to point to Celtic origin; cf. HOLDER I 1049.

**Snel(l)** : *Snel* mon. Grueber p. 118 (Aethelstan), *Snel(l)* ib. p. 247 (Cnut), *Snel(l)* or *Sneil* ib. p. 303 (Harold I), *Snell* ib. p. 321 (Harthacnut); *Snel* mon. Hildebrand pp. 244, 245, *Snell* ib. p. 245 (Cnut), *Snel(l)* or *Sneil* ib. 353 (Harold I), *Snell* ib. p. 401 (Harthacnut); *Snel* Thorpe p. 535 (c. 995) = *Suel* KCD 1290; *Snelli* (gen.) Cal. Doc. 20 (c. 1055); Elewin(e) uel *Snel* Björkman, Fester-men pp. 5, 17. Cf. *Isnel* (= *Snel*?) mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan).

: OE *snell* 'smart, rapid; strong, bold', for the etymology of which see RITTER, Anglia XXXIII p. 471. Partly of Scand. origin; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. 125 f., Namenk. 77 f. No compounds are on record in OE. F 1350. — Cf. *Snella*, *Snelling*.

**Snoter** mon. Grueber p. 429 (Eadw. Conf.).

SEARLE p. 428 interprets this as \**Snothere*, a name not elsewhere recorded. It is instead most likely the OE adjective *snotor*, *snoter* 'clever, prudent', or perhaps OW Scand. *snotr* 'forstandig,

<sup>1</sup> In OScand. *groenn* is not recorded either as a byname or as a real name.

klog'. Cf. OW Scand. *Snotra* fem. (LIND); *snotr* as a byname, on the other hand, is an error for *knōttr*; see JÓNSSON pp. 243, 278. Does *Snot* Ellis, Intr. II p. 219 belong here? F 1352.

**Swift** : *Swifte* (dat.) BCS 1130 (972—92); *Swift* DB IV p. 629 (Winton.).

: OE *swift* 'swift'.

**Wel(h)isc** : *Velhisci* (gen.) BCS 45 (679), *Welisc* presbyter ib. 72 (688).

: OE *wīelisc* etc. 'foreign, Welsh'. Concerning the various forms see BÜLBRING § 529. — Cf. *Walk*.

### b. Unintelligible.

**Alus** mon. Keary p. 105 (St. Eadmund).

As the coin on which this name occurs belongs to the well-known series struck in remembrance of St. Eadmund, it is scarcely worth while to try to decipher its meaning. See KEARY p. 97. — Cf. *Alusa* and the following name.

**Arus** mon. Keary pp. 107, 108 (St. Eadmund).

Cf. the preceding name. Possibly a Latinization of Scand. *Are* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 6, Namenk. p. 14)?

**Ast** regulus BCS 937 (956).

A short form of some Celtic name beginning with *Ast-* (HOLDER I 249), or an error for Scand. *Hasten*, *Asten* etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 65)? Cf. *Osketel*, *Vrm*, *Gunner* in the same charter. — Germ. *ast-* 'bough, branch' is not recorded in OE. — F 150, BRUCKNER p. 228.

\***Bass**(?) : duce *Basso* milite Beda HE II 20 (= *Bassa* hiora latþeow Transl. p. 187); *Basse* mæsseprioste Chron. 669.

For the etymology see BJÖRKMAN I. F. XXX p. 275, HELLQUIST, Xen. Lid. p. 92. Cf. also BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 23, Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 226 f., ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkvet. VI p. 276. — Cf. *Bassa*.

[**Beo(w)**, **Beaw** : *Beo* Aethelweard 857, *Beowius* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Beaw* Chron. 855, *Beauu* Asser ch. 1, *Beaw* Geneal. Tib. B V 173.

In all probability OE *bēow* 'barley'. Se BJÖRKMAN's investigation "Bēow, Bēaw und Bēowulf" in E. St. L II p. 145 ff., esp. pp. 170 f., 184 f., Anglia Beibl. 1919 p. 23 ff. — Cf. *Beowa*.]

**Beorus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 48.



: OE *bēor* 'beer'? Latinization of *Beorra* or a similar name? The compounds adduced by SEARLE p. 104 are doubtful. — Cf. *Beoring*.

[**Ber** Ellis, Intr. II p. 48 (Yorksh.). Cf. *Berus* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.).

Though this might be an ordinary short form of compounds with *Ber-* (: OE *bera* 'bear'), it is more probably corrupt. MÜLLER p. 92, F 258. — Cf. *Bere*.]

[**Bers** Ellis, Intr. II p. 48 (Chesh.).

For Scand. *Berse*? See BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 27.]

[**Boeg** mon. Grueber p. 128 (Eadmund).

For *Boiga* ib.?)

[**Boln** Ellis, Intr. II p. 50.

Cf. *Bolne*.]

[**Brin** mon. Grueber p. 330 (Eadw. Conf.).

Corrupt form of *Brihtnoð* or a similar name? Cf. *Brinit*, *Brinwold* ib. Possibly Celtic; see HOLDER I 545.]

[**Brum** mon. Grueber p. 372 (Eadw. Conf.).

Stands for *Bruman* ib., on which see FORSSNER p. 52 f., HOLM p. 20. — Cf. *Bruma*.]

[**Bu** Ellis, Intr. II p. 61 (Yorksh.).

Most likely Scand. *Bo*, *Búi*; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 27.]

**Bus**? mon. Grueber p. 101 (Aethelstan).

Celtic? See HOLDER I 643. — Cf. *Busa*.

**C(a)ec** : *Cecces* (gen.) BCS 183 (c. 757), *Cec* ib. 195 (764); *Cæc* BCS 218 (757–75).

Celtic? See HOLDER I 670, 883, III 1177.

[**Calpus** Ellis, Intr. II pp. 64, 300.

Scarcely native]

[**Celm** Cynricing, Chron. preface.

Miswritten for *Celin*, i. o. *Ceawlin*, which is probably not of Germanic origin; cf., however, CHADWICK, Studies in OE pp. 134, 137.]

[**Cened** abbas BCS 641 (925).

Seems to be an error for *Cenred*.]

**Ceoc** (?) mon. Grueber p. 302 (Harold I).

This instance is probably taken from Hildebrand p. 374, where one *Godwine Ceoc* mon. from the same time and place (Winchester) is recorded. This man is elsewhere called *Godwine Ceoca* (see *Ceoca*), and HILDEBRAND p. VIII, just as in several cases already mentioned, assumes that *Ceoc(a)* is a byname, whereas GRUEBER

distinguishes between the two names as belonging to two separate persons. The former assumption is perhaps more likely. For the etymology one might adduce OE *cēoce*, a late W Sax. parallel to *cēace* fem. 'cheek, jaw, jawbone', which forms possibly point to Prim. Germ. \**keukōn* : \**kaukōn*; see TORP, Wortschatz pp. 33, 44, NED 'cheek'. Cf. Osbern *Ceaca* Thorpe p. 645 (11th cent.); cf. also OW Scand. *kjálki* 'jaw, jaw-bone' as a byname JÓNSSON p. 204, KAHLE p. 166.

[**Ceoftan** mon. Grueber p. 330 (Eadw. Conf.).

Compound? Related to *Ceofa* q. v. ?]

**Cichus** BCS 380 (824), 417 (837), 426 (839), 445 (844).

From the root *kik(k)*- 'mucksen, lachen, keuchen usw.' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 44)? Cf. OHG *Viccio* F 368; cf. also HOLDER I 1011, III 1215.

**Cildas** BCS 288 (798).

The same man is called *Fildas* in BCS 287 (798), but the spellings of this charter seem to be less reliable; cf. *Cheolberth* ib. = *Ceolberht* BCS 288. Is this a Latinized form of *Cild*, q. v.? If such is the case, the name ought to be placed among the intelligible ones. Cf. *Winas*, under *Wine*. — Or an error for Celtic *Gildas*?

[**Clip** mon. Grueber p. 90 (Eadw. the Elder).]

Probably Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 55. Otherwise related to OE *clipian* 'speak' ?]

**Co'rp** Ellis, Intr. II 305 (Essex).

OW Scand. *korpr* 'Ravn' is hardly to be taken into account, since it is not otherwise recorded in England. Cf. *Rafn* etc. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 109, Namenk. p. 68. Cf. also HOLDER I 1134.

[**Crofl** mon. Grueber p. 276 (Cnut).

Stands for *Crocl* = *Croc*, a Scand. name (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 89, Namenk. p. 58)].

**Culm** mon. Grueber p. 191 (Eadw. II). Is he identical with *Cylm*(?) mon. ib. p. 170 (Eadgar)? Cf. also *Gilm* ib. p. 164.

Scarcely a contraction of *Cynehelm*, as is suggested by MIDDENDORFF p. 36. Cf. ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxfordshire p. 138.

[**Cuulf** Ellis, Intr. II p. 73.

For *Cud(w)ulf* ?]

**Cymen** Chron. 477.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Her cuom Aelle on Breten lond, 7 his III suna. *Cymen*, 7 Wlencing, 7 Cissa. mid III scipum, on þa stowe þe is nemned *Cymenes ora*.' Cf. PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 11.

: OE *cuman* 'come', or the adj. *cȳme* 'comely, lovely'? Perhaps not of Germanic origin, since its relation to the place-name appears to be analogous with *Hrof* : *Hrofesceaster*, *Port* : *Portes muða*, q. v. — Cf. *Cyma*, *Cymmi*.

**Derch** Ellis, Intr. II p. 74.

: OE *deorc* 'dark'? Cf. also HOLDER I 1266 f.

[**Dot**, *Doth*, *Dotus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 75, see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 29.]

[**Drondus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 75.

Apparently an AN spelling of OW Scand. *Dróndr*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 153, Namenk. p. 85.]

[**Duns** Ellis, Intr. II p. 76.

A curtailed form of *Dunstan*, or equivalent to Celt. *Dons*, *Donnus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 75; see HOLDER I 1306.

**Eof** etc. : *Eof* presbyter BCS 445 (844), *Iof* presbyter ib. 412 (833), *Iab* ib. 507 (863).

See *Eofa*, *Eaba*.

[**Eorff** mon. Grueber p. 331 (Eadw. Conf.).

A mistake for Scand. *Corf(f)*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 87.]

[**Eresd** mon. Keary p. 143 (Northumbria, Eardwulf).

According to the editor possibly a corrupt form of *Herreð* ib.]

[**Eur** Ellis, Intr. II p. 110.

Evidently a curtailed form of some name beginning with *Eur*-, for which see FORSSNER p. 85.]

[**Fech**, **Feg** etc. : *Fech* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 111, 316, *Feg*, *Fegarus* ib. p. 111. Cf. also *Feggo* ib. p. 316.

According to EKWALL, Scandinavians and Celts p. 83, *Fech* and *Feg* "are no doubt different spellings of the same name and very likely even denote the same person." The origin is doubtful; EKWALL suggests Ir. *Fíach*,<sup>1</sup> or OW Scand. \**Feigr* from *feigr* adj. In the latter case the *r* in *Fegarus* (Suff.) might reflect the OWScand. nom. - ending.<sup>2</sup> OE *fǣger* 'fair, lovely, beautiful', and the OE equivalent of *feigr*, *fǣge* 'fey, doomed (to death), fated, destined'<sup>3</sup> are scarcely possible. — Cf. *Feche*.]

[**Frard** mon. Grueber p. 110 (Aethelstan), 132 (Eadmund), 148 (Eadred), 159 (Eadwig).

<sup>1</sup> This actually occurs in DB, spelt *Fyach* Ellis, Intr. II p. 115 (Linc.). — Cf. '*Fēcc*, later *Fīacc*'. Thesaurus palæohib. II p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loan-words p. 62, note 1.



In all probability this is the same moneyer as *Efrard*; see FORSSNER p. 63.].

[**Frerð** preost KCD 732 (1016–20).

A curtailment of the same nature as in the preceding name?]

[**Fron** mon. Grueber p. 352 (Eadw. Conf.), 462 (Harold II).

Probably an error for *From(a)*, q. v., a contemporary moneyer from the same place (Derby)].

[**Gaeald**? mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder).

Related to *Gelda*, q. v.?

[**Gert** Ellis, Intr. II p. 117 (Norf.).

For Scand. *Gyrð*, *Gerð*, *Guert*, etc.? See BJÖRKMAN, Pers. 59 f.]

**Giwis** etc. : *Giwis* Wiging<sup>1</sup> Chron. A preface, 552, 597, 855; *Geuwis* 'a quo Britones totam illam gentem *Geguwis* nominant' Asser ch. 1 (cf. the editor's note p. 161 f.); *Geuwis* Aethelweard 857; *Giwinus* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Giwis* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438 (*Giwis*, *Gewis* Geneal. Tib. B V 172, 173).

The eponymous hero of the *Gewissae*, an early name of the West Saxons<sup>2</sup>. According to MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf p. 63, the tribal name is related to Goth. *gawidan* 'join', *gawiss* 'junction'<sup>3</sup> and means *socii* 'confederates'. This explanation is accepted by OMAN p. 228. By other scholars *Gewissae* has been connected with the *Visi*, *Visigoths*, for which see SCHÖNFELD p. 268, but this seems less probable. Cf. STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 36, note 15, CHADWICK, Origin p. 33, and HOLDER I 2017.

**Gleu** Ellis, Intr. II p. 326.

: OE *glēaw*, *glēw* 'wise, skilful', or a mutilated form of *Gleuwinus*, *Gleduinus*, *Gladwine* Ellis, Intr. II p. 119, 326? F 657. Cf. also HOLDER I 2027.

[**Goerth** Ellis, Intr. II p. 129 (Norf.), *Gort* ib. p. 130 (Sussex).

Probably corrupt spellings of Scand. *Gyrð*; cf. *Gert* above.]

**Grid** mon. Grueber pp. 180, 189 (Eadgar).

For *Gyrð*? No moneyer with this name is, however, recorded in Grueber.

**Grind** mon. Grueber pp. 194 (Eadw. II), 222 (Aethelr. II), Hildebrand pp. 20 (Eadw. II), 91 (Aethelr. II).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> 'gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus *Geuissae* uocabantur' Bede HE III 7; cf. PLUMMER's note ib. II p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Different from OE (*ge*)*wiss* 'certain, sure; trustworthy'; cf. TORP, Wortschatz pp. 386, 410.

Identical with the preceding name? Cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 39 and note 5.

[**Hacc** KCD 898 (Aethelstan) = *Hacun* Thorpe p. 376; cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 60 f., *Namenk.* p. 43.]

[**Haram** dux KCD 729 (1019), which occurs among Scand. names, is probably a corruption of *Harald*; see BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 63.]

**Heagr**, or *Hearer*? mon. Keary p. 32 (Mercia, Offa).

A very uncertain reading.

**Hengð** : *Hengðes* (gen.) KCD 1302 (c. 1006).

**Hig** Thorpe p. 638 (11th cent.).

: OE *hyge* 'thought, mind', and names compounded with that element? Cf. Aedelm *Higa* BCS 591 (901—24). MÜLLER p. 87, F 922.

[**Holundus** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 148.

Scarcely native. Related to OHG *holuntar* 'elder'? Cf. CHAMBERS, *Widsith* p. 202.]

**Hryp** <sup>1</sup> *Hroðmunding* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 120, *Hryp* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Hryp* Flor. Worc. p. 249 (geneal. reg. orient. angl.) = *Rippan* (acc.) Nennius ch. 59.

OG *Hripo*, *Hriffō* F 878 can hardly be identical with this name, which seems to have an original *-u-*. Etymology uncertain. — (Cf. *Rippa*).

[**Huc** dux KCD 740 (1021—4) is a misreading of *Iric*; see Crawf. chart. p. 143.]

[**Imper** dux BCS 689 (932) is the same as *Inhwær* dux ib. 702, *Inwaer* dux ib. 703 (*Iuwaer* KCD 352), a Scand. name; see BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 72.]

**Lant** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 155.

: OE *land* 'land'? MÜLLER p. 81, F 1002, FORSSNER p. 172 f. — Cf. *Landac*.

**Lil** mon. Keary p. 76 (Canterbury, Ceolnoth).

According to the index p. 269 = *Lilla*(?). Not necessary; cf. the parallel *Lul(l)* : *Lulla*. A typical lall-name; see Crawf. chart. pp. 51, 68. — Cf. *Lilla*.

**Lord** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 182.

For chronological reasons hardly to be connected with OE *hlāford* 'lord'.

**Lul(l)** etc. : *Lul* BL 49 (c. 732—42), 71, *Lulle* (dat.) ib. 72 (c. 732—46?), *Lullum* (acc.) ib. 85 (c. 732—51), *Lul* ib. 86, 87, 90.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

(751), *Lullus* ib. 92 (c. 752—4), *Lullum* (acc.) ib. 93 (753—4), *Lullus* ib. 100 (c. 752—55), *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 111, *Lullae!* (dat.) ib. 112 (755), *Lullus* ib. 113, *Lullae!* (dat.) ib. 114 (c. 755—6), *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 116 (764), 117 (759—65), 118 (756—68), 119 (773), 121 (769—74), 122 (760—78), 123 (755—80), *Lullae!*, *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 124, *Lullus* ib. 125, 126, *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 127 (767—81), *Lullus* ib. 128, *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 129, 130, 131, 132, *Lullono!* (dat.) ib. 133, *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 134, 135<sup>1</sup>, 136, *Lullae!* (dat.) ib. 137, 138 (755—86), *Lullo* (dat.) ib. 139 (757—86) = BCS 249, *Lullo* (dat.) Alcuin, *Carmina* p. 222<sup>2</sup>; — *Lul* abbas Alcuin, *Epistolæ* 302 = *Lullo* abbas ib. 301 (798—804), *Lull*, *Lulla* abbas BCS 312 (803)<sup>3</sup>; — *Lull* serf (bis) ib. 547 (880); — *Lull* mon. Keary pp. 32 (Mercia, Offa), 36 (Mercia, Coenwulf).

A lall-name. Cf. NE *lull* (NED), probably not at all "etymologically" connected with the OE name but of the same type. F 1064, Socin p. 195, STARK p. 3, HOLDER II 346. — Cf. *Lulla*, *Lulle* (m. and) f., (*Lullig*), *Lulling*, *Lulluc*, *Lullede*.

**Lurc** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 182 (Suff.).

: ME *lurken* (cf. NED 'lurk')? Cf. also OW Scand. *lurkr* as a byname KAHLE p. 202, BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 266. The word is probably borrowed from OIr. *lorg* 'staff' — as well as OE *lorg*, *lorh* 'pole, distaff, weaver's beam' — and means 'cudgel', but in N Norw. dialects it also means 'a strong, weighty, but big and clumsy person' (TORP, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*), a stage of sense development partly attained even by OSw. *lurker* (SCHLYTER, *Ordbok till Sweriges gamla lagar*; RIETZ, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*). In N Sw. literary language it is equivalent to 'churl, bumpkin'. Is the instance in DB perhaps a loan from Irish through Scand.?

[**Moelf?** mon. Grueber p. 74 (Aelfred).]

Very doubtful reading.]

**Moll** : *Moll* LV 407; *Moll* patricius BCS 184 (757—8); *Moll* Aedelwold Chron. 759 E = *Moll* Norþhymbra cining ib. 761 E: cf. Aedelred *Molles* sunu ib. 774 E : Aedelred *Aedelwaldes* sunu

<sup>1</sup> We learn from this letter that *Lull* had been called *Lytel* during his stay at Malmesbury.

<sup>2</sup> All the preceding instances refer to *Lull*, archbishop of Mainz 755—86; see DCB III 757.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 1 Alcuin, *Epistolæ* l. c.



ib. 790 E<sup>1</sup>; *Moll* dux Sim. Durh. ch. 61, *Mollonis* (gen.) Will. Malm. ch. 72.

: OHG *mol* 'Eidechse, stellio', or ME *molle, mulle* 'mole'? According to TORP, Wortschatz p. 314, the two words are identical, according to NED ('mole' sb<sup>2</sup>) probably not. MÜLLER p. 42, WINKLER p. 263, HOLDER II 618. — Cf. *Molleve* (= \**Mollgifu*?) Ellis, Intr. II p. 186.

**Occ, Oeg**, see *Occa, Oega*.

**Oisc**, son of Hengist, Beda HE II 5<sup>2</sup> (*Oesc* Transl. p. 132), Oric cognomento *Oisc* Flor. Worc. 616, Oesa vel *Oisc* (wrong) ib. p. 248 (geneal. reg. cantwar.), *Oisc* Sim. Durh. ch. 1. The same man is called *Aesc* Chron. 455, 456 E, 457 A, 465, 473, 488, Aethelweard 455, 473, 488, *Esc* Henry Hunt. II 4 etc. *Eisc* Will. Malm. ch. 8 seems to be a compromise between *Oisc* and *Esc*. *Ossa* Nennius ch. 58 is a corruption of *Oisc*; see CHADWICK, Origin p. 44, OMAN p. 221.

The older form is apparently *Oisc*, for which some later chroniclers have substituted the more intelligible *Aesc*. *Oi* in the names in Bede is equivalent to *ā* (LUICK, Hist. Gr. § 184, anm. 1), and *Oisc* thus points to an etymon \**ōski*. This might have developed from \**anski*-, belonging to the stem *ans*-, OE *ōs* 'god', occurring in *Osa* etc. This etymology is supported by CHADWICK's identification (Origin p. 47) of *Oisc* with the often cited *Anschis* (MS *Ansehis*) in the anonymous Geographer of Ravenna V 31. In spite of OMAN's argument (p. 209, note) that »those who take it as a form of *Hengist* are more numerous», CHADWICK's theory is undoubtedly better founded. MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf p. 61, note, explains *Anschis* from \**Αγγις* = *Hengist*, but it is obviously more natural to identify it with \**Anski* > *Oisc*.<sup>3</sup> — Cf. *Aesc*; *Os(s)a*, *Ese*, *Oese*.

<sup>1</sup> This parallel shows that the names were looked upon as equivalents. In the works of later chroniclers confusion prevails. Cf., for instance, 'Ethelwald rex qui *Moll* est nominatus' Sim. Durh. ch. 43, with 'Moll qui et Aethelwold' Flor. Worc. p. 255. See further MHB p. 1017, PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 50, SEARLE BKN p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> '... Octa, cuius pater Oeric cognomento *Oisc*, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent *Oiscingas* cognominare. Cuius pater Hengist, qui cum filio suo *Oisc* inuitatus a Urtigerno Britanniam primus intrauit'. Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> BRANDL's derivation (Archiv CXXXVII p. 17) of both *Oeric* and *Oisc* from *ōs* + *ric* is not convincing.

**Peot, Piot**: *Peot* BCS 146 (727), *Peot* abbas ib. 356, *Peot* presbyter ib. 357 (816); *Piot* abbas ib. 157 (723—37), *Piot* dux ib. 296 (799), *Piot* presbyter abbas ib. 343 (814). *Piot* p̃rs ib. 370 (822), 373 (823), 379 (824); *Piott* presbyter ib. 384 (825).

A short form of compounds with *Peoht*-, belonging to OE *Peohtas*, *Pihtas* 'Picts'? MÜLLER p. 102. Celtic according to STARK p. 3. — Cf. *Peota*.

**Peuf** LV 199.

WYLD — in his review of MÜLLER's book E. St. XXXII p. 399 f. — connects this name with *Pybba* and derives both from a Germanic stem *\*peub̥*, *\*pub̥* 'puff, blow'; their meaning would then be 'puffer', the 'man who puffs and blows'. In spite of this etymology I prefer, like MÜLLER p. 43, to characterize the name as »undurchsichtig». — Cf. *Peufa*.

**Præn** etc.: 'Eadbryht . . . þam was oþer noma nemned *Præn*' Chron. 794, *Præn* ib. 796 AE (in 796 F 'Eadberht' is inserted before *Præn*, above the line); *Prend* Aethelweard 796, 'Eadberhtus, qui et *Pren*' Flor. Worc. 794, 'Eadbrict vocatus alio nomine *Pren*' Henry Hunt. IV 27. 'Edelbertus(!) idemque *Pren*' Will. Malm. ch. 15, 'Edbrithtum cognomine *Pren*' ib. ch. 95.

Evidently a surname, which was also used independently. Whether KEMBLE is right in his assertion (Names p. 93) that it means 'priest', I do not know; according to PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 63, Eadbryht was a renegade priest, 'clericus apostata'. When OMAN (p. 384) translates the name by 'the Pin', he seems to connect it with OE *prēon* 'fibula, pin, brooch', but this is not possible; see NED 'preen'. Probably the name is not of Germanic origin. Cf. DCB II p. 4, SEARLE BKN p. 266.

**Preed** LV 200, 226.

MÜLLER p. 43.

**Prim** mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund).

The same man as the following?

**Prin** mon. Grueber p. 142 (Eadred).

Celtic-Latin? Cf. HOLDER II 1043 f.

[**Reedes** mon. Grueber p. 142 (Eadred).

A corrupt form of some compound with *Ræd*-, *Rēd*- (MÜLLER p. 114), or not Germanic? Cf. HOLDER II 1096 ff.]

[**Ret** clericus KCD 981 (manumissions at the altar of St. Petroc, Bodmin).

To judge from the surrounding names, this is most likely Celtic;

see HOLDER II 1180. Cf, however, such a byname as Aluwin *Ret* Ellis, Intr. II p. 377 (= Aelfwine the Red, FREEMAN NC V p. 787.)

[*Reuer* Ellis, Intr. II p. 205 (Heref.).]

Celtic *Rebur(rus)?* See HOLDER II 1089 ff.]

\**Salc* : *Salces?* mon. (Chester) Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan).

A very doubtful reading<sup>1</sup>. To be connected with Celtic \**salūcos* 'sordidus' (HOLDER II 1298; the same word as OE *salu* 'dark, dusky'), or with OE *s(e)alh* 'willow'?

[*Sbern* biga etc. Ellis, Intr. II p. 210, is evidently a corruption of *Esbern* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 10. Recorded as an independent name by SEARLE p. 409.]<sup>2</sup>

[*Smert* Ellis, Intr. II p. 218 (Suff.).]

Several explanations are possible: 1. OE *smeortan* 'to smart', *smeart* 'smarting, painful' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 527); 2. Celtic *Smert-* (HOLDER II 1593; most plausible). — SEARLE p. 427 also adduces as an instance '*Smert* mon: Eadgar, Grueber', which probably refers to the somewhat mysterious moneyer *Smertcali* Grueber p. 143 (under Eadred, not Eadgar). This form SEARLE rightly interprets as two names (though he does not record *Cali*). As far as I can see, however, *Smertcali* is identical with *Calismert(?)* Grueber p. 142, and both are false readings of an obscure inscription, reproduced ib. p. 155, where Grueber reads '*Cali* and *Sifert*'. In my opinion this is right. *Cali* is a Scand. name (BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 50), and so is *Siferð* mon. Grueber p. 187 (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 117). It would then seem more natural to identify \**Sifert* with *Siferð* than with the probably Celt. *Smert*.]

*Sogor* Flor. Wore. 547; p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.) = *Scor* Sim. Durh. Opera omnia I pp. 40, 339.

Interpolation? Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303.

*Sprow* : *Sprow* KCD 1290 (c. 995); *Sprow* Lib. Eliens. (10th cent.; quoted from Searle); *Sprow* mon. (Eadw. I) Num. Chron. 1884 p. 235. Cf. *Sprou(ald?)* mon. Grueber p. 84 (Eadw. I).

By way of suggestion one might mention the Germanic stem *sprēw-*: *sprōw-*, the latter found in M Dutch *sproeien*, NHG *sprühen* < Prim. Germ. \**sprōwian* (TORP, Wortschatz p. 517). Very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> On the occurrence of genitive forms on coins see GRUEBER p. CVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Seuen*, *Seuuen* Ellis, Intr. II p. 213 (Linc.) — if not < *Sæwine* — is probably an AN spelling of Scand. *Suen* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 139, Namenk. p. 82.



**Stam** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 227 (Yorksh.).

: OE *stamerian* 'to stammer', *stamor* 'stammering', or perhaps rather of Scand. origin, though with the same meaning? Cf. OW Scand. *stamr*, *stami* as a byname JÓNSSON p. 213, KAHLE p. 172.

**Stear** mon. Grueber p. 84 (Aelfred); *Stear* mon. (Eadw. I) Num. Chron. 1884 p. 235.

A mutilated form of \**stearc*, OE *stearc* 'stiff, harsh, strong', or belonging to the stem \**ster-*, \**star(r)a-* 'stiff', without the *k*-extension in *stearc* (TORP, Wortschatz p. 485 f.)? Cf. also OW Scand. *staurr* 'pole' and OE *stēor* 'steering' etc. (gradation forms; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 493). *Staurr* is found as a byname in OWScand. (JÓNSSON p. 286; cf. also LIND s. v.).

[**Ster(r)**, (*Sterre*), *Stur* DB, *Stir* Flor. Worc. are in all probability Scand. *Styr*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 132.]

**Stuf** Chron. 514, *Stufe* (dat.) ib. 534, *Stuf* Asser ch. 2 (cf. note p. 171), Aethelweard 514, 534.

From the stem \**stūba* 'stump' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 496). See further STEVENSON'S investigation Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 32, note 2.

[**Sulf** BCS 538 (874), KCD 1171 (955; (*O*)*sulf* BCS 906) is evidently a scribal error for (*Ego*) *Osulf*.]

**Sundus** Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 391.

Perhaps related to OE *sundor* 'asunder, apart', or names compounded with that element. Such compounds are, however, not on record in OE<sup>1</sup>; cf. F 1369, SCHÖNFELD p. 218, TORP, Wortschatz p. 444. Cf. also OSw. *Sund* (LUNDGREN).

**Teol** BCS 146 (727?).

: *Til-*, OE *til* 'good'? For the form cf. *tilian*, *tiolode*, *teolian* etc. SIEVERS, *AgS. Gr.* p. 105, 2 and anm. 3. MÜLLER p. 98. Celtic according to STARK p. 3. — Cf. *Teolling*, *Tila*, *Til(l)i*, *Tilne*, and the following name.

[**Teolf** dux KCD 177 (799; starred) = *Tiolf* BCS 296; *Teolf* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 238. Cf. *Teoulfus*, *Teowlfus* Flor. Worc. 1113, 1123. I may also adduce the place-name *Tiouulfinga cæstir* Beda HE II i 6 = *Teolfinga ceastre* Transl. p. 179.

This is probably a compound name; cf. MÜLLER p. 85, BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 192. In passing it may be remarked, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Feologildus*, i. e. *Sundredus* WHARTON, *Anglia Sacra* II p. 681, is evidently a mistake for *Swithredus*. Cf. MHB 616 note 8, DCB II p. 504, SEARLE BKN p. 6.

that *Tiowulf* is not = *Tidwulf*, as is stated by MILLER, Place-names in the English Bede p. 56, and FORSSNER's identification p. 233 of *Teolf* in DB with *Theodulf* (= SEARLE p. 444) is not to be accepted without discussion. After all we have perhaps also to take a name *\*Tilwulf*, *\*Teolwulf* into account. Or is *Teol* above a curtailed form of *Teolf*?

[**Terus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 238, see FORSSNER p. 228.]

**Tirus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 394 (Norf.).

A short form of compounds with *Tīr*-, OE *tīr* 'fame, glory'? Cf. also ODan. *Þyri*, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 164; Scand. loan-words p. 116.

**Torp** Ellis, Intr. II p. 242 (Norf.).

If really a personal name, which seems rather doubtful, to be connected with OE *þorp*, *þrop* 'farm, village'? Or simply a corrupt form of Scand. *T(h)orbern* etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 147)? — Cf. NED 'thorp', LINDKVIST p. LV f.

**Torsus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 242 (Dev.).

Possibly to be connected with some Scand. name like *T(h)orstan* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 153 etc.), or OW Scand. *furs* 'giant' (which is actually found as a byname in OW Scand.; see RYGH p. 70, JÓNSSON p. 299), but the locality militates against this explanation.

[**Totes** or *Tiotes* mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan) appears to be the genitive form of Scand. *Tote*; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 145.]

[**Toxus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 243 (Dors.).

SEARLE p. 579 suggests *Torhtsige*? Even if this is not the exact interpretation, the original name has evidently been mutilated by the scribe.]

[**Tuf?**: *Tufes* (gen.) BCS 1130 (972—92).

Considering the strongly pronounced Scand. character of this charter, I feel inclined to read *\*Tufe* = Scand. *Tófi* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 141, Namenk. p. 83. — Cf. *Tuffa*.]

**Udd** mon. Keary p. 29 (Mercia, Offa, possibly for *Dud*, cf. ib. pp. 26, 30), 67 (Kent, Ecgbearht).

Related to *Uda*, q. v.?

**Uach** LV 161, 162.

Referring to SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 210, 3, MÜLLER p. 43 connects this name with OE *wacian* 'to be awake'. SWEET, OET p. 591, reads *Uāch* (OE *wāc* 'weak?'). F<sub>2</sub> 1487, SCHÖNFELD p. 249, HOLDER III 79. — Since, however, to judge from SIEVERS' examples, the North. development of final *c* into *h* (*ch*) is found

chiefly in unstressed words, it seems most plausible to assume that *Uach* is simply a scribal error for *Ualch*, q. v.

**Wattus**<sup>1</sup>: *Uuattus* rex Uestsaxonum BCS 78, *Wattus* rex ib. 80 (692), *U(uattus* rex) ib. 144 (725).

Celtic? See HOLDER III 127.

[**Weddes** mon. (Linc.) Grueber p. 281 (Cnut), which form SEARLE (p. 481) regards as gen. of \**Wedd* (OE *wedd* 'pledge'; cf. F 1490), is in all probability only a mistake for Scand. *Wedles*, *Wadlos*, *Wadlos*, etc., on which see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 172, Namenk. p. 92.]

[**Wert** Ellis, Intr. II p. 410 (Norf.).

Probably the Scand. name *Guert*, *Gyrð*, etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 60); the spelling would then be due to the French confusion between *w* and *gu*; see KALBOW p. 117.]

**Wipped** Chron. 465<sup>2</sup>, *Uuipped* Aethelweard 465.

Even though the historical existence of this person is very doubtful, it is not quite clear whether we are here concerned with a complete parallel to *Hrof* and *Port* dealt with above. In those cases the personal names are evidently back-formations from the corresponding place-names, whereas here the place-name cannot be proved to have existed before the personal name. This place-name is still unidentified; cf. PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 11. — As to its etymology *Wipped* probably belongs to the Germanic stem *wip* 'to swing', which is represented in OE by *wipian* 'to wipe, cleanse'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 412, FALK-TORP, Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wb. 'vippe'. Cf. OW Scand. *vippa* as a byname RYGH p. 73, JÓNSSON p. 359. F 1561 interprets OHG *Wippo* etc. as secondary hypocoristic formations, which may also, of course, apply to *Wipped*. Cf. HOLDER III 358. — The form itself is of a rather doubtful character. Perhaps *Wipped* is a diminutive formation like *healsed*, -od; see ECKHARDT p. 349. Or is the original form *Wippede*, belonging to the same group as *Mannede*, *Lullede*, *Luhhede*, q. v.? If such is the case one might suggest that the personal name had survived only in the place-name *Wippedes fleet*, from which the chronicler had subsequently wrongly abstracted a nominative *Wipped*.

<sup>1</sup> Nom. *Watt* or *Watta*?

<sup>2</sup> 'Her Hengest 7 Aesc gefuhton uuip Walas neah *Wippedes fleote*, 7 þær XII Wilisce aldr menn ofslogon, 7 hiera þegn an þær wearþ ofslægen, þam wæs noma *Wipped*'.



[**Wider** : *Uwithar*, son of Woden, Aethelweard 449 (p. 502), *Wither* ib. 596 (p. 505), has been inserted in the Kentish genealogy instead of *Witta* under the influence of Scand. *Viðarr* (KÖPKE, *Altnordische Personennamen bei den Angelsachsen* p. 10), and it seems to me very probable that even the other instances of this name recorded in England are of Scand. origin : *Wider* minister KCD 714 (1005; cf. *Ulfcytel*, *Morcar* ib.), *Wider* ib. 722 (the same man?); *Wither* (c. 1030) LVH (quoted from Searle); *Wither* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 271. — Cf. *Uihthere* BCS 321 (805); *Wiðergýld* Beowulf 2051(?). *Widsith* 124.]

[**Uont** LV 166, see MÜLLER p. 43, FORSSNER p. 244 f.]

**Wor(r)** : *Uuor* episcopus<sup>1</sup> BCS 91 (716), *Wor* episcopus ib. 146 (727?), *Wori* (gen.) ib. 149, *Worres* (gen.) ib. 150 (732-3), *Uuor* episcopus ib. 153 (c. 735), 154 (736), *Wor* episcopus ib. 155, *Uuor* episcopus ib. 156, 157 (c. 737) = '*Alduine* qui et *Uuor* nominabatur' Geneal. Vesp. B VI 38 (episc. merc.), Geneal. Corp. Chr. 432<sup>2</sup>; *Worris* principis BCS 258 (before 790), *Wor* princeps ib. 282 (796?); *Worr* episcopus<sup>3</sup> ib. 290 (803?), *Uuor* episcopus<sup>3</sup> ib. 349 (814); *Worr* alior mon Chron. 800; *Worr*(?) BJÖRKMAN, *Festermen* p. 18 (1000-50).

Possibly from the stem *wōr(i)a-* 'verwirrt, betäubt'(?), which is represented in OE by *wērig* 'weary' (cf. SIEVERS, I. F. XXVI p. 225 ff.), *\*wōr* 'moor, swampy place' (in *wōrhana* 'moor-cock, cock pheasant'), *wōrian* 'to roam, wander, move round'? See TORP, *Wortschatz* p. 414, SKEAT, *Etym. Dict.* 'weary'. The numerous spellings with *rr*, however, do not support a long vowel, and the etymology suggested is unsatisfactory in other respects as well.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lichfield 721-37? (SEARLE BKN p. 130) = *Alduini* Bede HE V 23; cf. PLUMMER's note ib. II p. 341, DCB I p. 79, KEMBLE, *Names* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Thus also: '*Aldwinus*, qui et *Wor*' Flor. Worc. p. 241, '*Aldwine*, qui et *Wor*' Sim. Durh. ch. 34.

<sup>3</sup> 'episcopus' erroneously?

## 2. Feminine.

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

## α. Substantives.

**Badu** LV 39.

: *B(e)adu-*, OE *b(e)adu* 'war, battle'. MÜLLER pp. 43, 117, 138, F 224, SCHÖNFELD p. 40 f. — Cf. *Bad(d)a*, *Baduca*.

**Eadu** LV 40, 445<sup>1</sup>.

: *Ēad-*, OE *ēad* 'riches, prosperity, good fortune, happiness'. MÜLLER pp. 44, 79, F 185, SCHÖNFELD p. 36, SUNDÉN, Elliptical words p. 163 f. — Cf. *Ead(d)a*, *Ed(d)a*, *Eat(t)a*, *Eating*.

**Hild**: *Hild* abbatisa Beda HE III 24, 25, IV 23, V 24, *Hild* abbodesse on Streones heale Chron. 680, Sancta *Hilda* Ann. Lind. 680, Sancta *Hylda* Herzfeld, Martyrology p. 206, matre piissima *Hilde* (ablat.) Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 10, *Hyldæ*, *Hildæ* religiosæ memoriæ abbatisæ ib. ch. 54, *Hildæ*, *Hilda* rel. mem. abb. BCS 110, 110 A (704), *Hild* abbatisa Aethelweard 676. — Cf. *Hild(?)* Deor 14; see HOLTHAUSEN, Beowulf II p. 174, WREDE, Ostg. p. 90, note 1.

: *Hild-*, OE *hild* 'war, battle'. *Hilda* is the Latinized form. (*Hilda* LVD p. 80 is possibly a Scand. loan; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 68). — Cf. *Hild* m.

\***Lufu**, **Lufa**: *Lufa* ancilla Dei BCS 405 (833)<sup>2</sup>, *Lufe* (acc.) 7 hire ðreo bearn ib. 599 (902).

: OE *lufu* 'love'. Compounds are rare, e. g. *Herelufu* Chron. 982 C. For *Lufa* see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 252, anm. 3. — Cf. *Lufa* m., *Luffe*, *Lufinc*.

**Quen** matrona BCS 1052 (959).

: *Cwēn-*, OE *cwēn* 'woman, wife, queen'. MÜLLER pp. 31, 90.

**Dingu** LV 23.

: *Ðing-*, OE *þing* 'thing'. MÜLLER pp. 44, 79, F 1456, SCHÖNFELD p. 235.

<sup>1</sup> *Eadu* and *Dingu* have added the fem. ending *-u* to the corresponding appellative, which in these two cases is not fem.

<sup>2</sup> Farther down in the same charter *Luba*; endorsed in a contemporary hand: '*Lufe* þincg gewrit', and in hands of the XIIth cent.: '*Luve* mulier . . .'

## β. Adjectives.

**Eðilu** LV 46; *Eðlu* mater Etan BCS 167 (729—44) = BL 55.

: *Aeðel*-, OE *æðele* 'noble'. MÜLLER p. 44, HOLM p. 12. — Cf. *Aeðel*.

**Hwatu**? : *Hwatu* (acc.) KCD 981 (11th cent.).

: OE *hwæt* 'sharp, bold, brave'. If *Hwatu* is really a short name of compounds with *Hwæt*-, its form shows at any rate that it was associated with the adjective. Cf. OW Scand. *Hvatr*, *Hvati* (LIND); also used as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 252, KAHLE p. 185). — MÜLLER p. 124. Cf. *Hueta*.

[*Hwitu*? See *Hwite*, m.]

## b. Unintelligible.

**Beonnu** LV 46.

See *Beorn*. — MÜLLER p. 44.

**Bettu** LV 45.

: *Be(o)rht*-<sup>1</sup> (see *Berht*), or *Bet*- (: OE *bētan* 'to amend, repair'? MÜLLER p. 122). LONGNON, Pol. Irm. p. 293, MÜLLER pp. 28, 44. Possibly Celtic; cf. HELLWIG p. 10. — Cf. *Betti*, \**Bettica*.

[*Hunu*? See *Huna*.]

## B.

## a. Intelligible.

## α. Substantive.

\***Swuster** : *Swuste* 7 hire dohter BCS 1130 (972—92).

: OE *sweostor*, *swuster* 'sister'. Cf. ODan. *Systir* (NIELSEN). F 1380.

## β. Adjectives.

**Dolo** : *Huna et soror illius Dolo* KCD 981 (11th cent.).

: OE *dol* 'foolish, silly'. The compounds given by SEARLE p. 168 are scarcely to be taken into account. Celtic according to STARK p. 3. — Cf. *Dola*.

**Eadugu** KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

: OE *ēadig* 'wealthy; happy'. According to SCHÖN, *Bildung der Adj. im Ae.*, p. 54, only forms in *-ig* are on record in historical OE times.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Totta* : *Torhthelm*.



**Gladu** Thorpe p. 639 (11th cent.).

: OE *glæd* 'glad'. Cf. OW Scand. *glāðr*, *glāði* as a byname RYGH p. 19, JÓNSSON p. 257. With regard to the compounds in DB (SEARLE p. 259) the remark under *Dolo* holds good here as well.

b. Unintelligible.

**Eafu** LV 25, 38.

See *Eafa*. MÜLLER p. 44. — Cf. *Eafe* f.

**Pincen**(?) : *Pincenne* (acc.) Thorpe p. 631 (11th cent.).

Fem. *jō*-stem, standing in the same relation to *Pinca* as *wīelen* to *wealh*? — Cf. *Pinca*.

[\***Tucu** : þa bohte man æt *Tuce* 7 æt hire sune Clacce . . . BCS 1130 (972—92).

Scand.? Note the son's name; BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 81. — Cf. *Tuc(c)a*.]

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## II. Weak Names.

### 1. Masculine.

This group, weak masc. names in *-a*, is greater numerically than any other type of uncompound names in OE. This is due to the fact that several different categories have coalesced formally; that the names are, however, only partly identical with regard to sense and onomatological character will be seen below.

The OE *a*-names, as well as their equivalents in OG in *-o*, in Scand. in *-i*, *-e*, in Celtic in *-ān* etc., correspond to the numerous Greek short names in *-ωv* (FICK p. XXIII ff.). See further OSTHOFF, *Forschungen* II p. 50, SÜTTERLIN, *Nomina agentis* p. 39 ff., KLUGE, *Stammbildungslehre* § 15 ff., WILMANN, *Deutsche Grammatik* II § 147 ff., F 1 ff., WREDE, *Ostg.* p. 194, ZIMMER, *K. Z.* XXXII p. 175, OLSON, *De appell. subst. bildn. i fsv.* p. 9 ff., and, esp. for OE, MÜLLER p. 139, FORSSNER p. 261, note 1, BEST, *Persönl. Konkreta des Ae.* p. 7 ff.

### A.

#### a. Intelligible.

**Aelua** minister KCD 729 (1019).

Most likely the same man as *Aeffa* minister KCD 743 (1026), in which case the form above is to be regarded only as an occasional error by the scribe. Cf. *Aelf*, *Aeffa*.

**Aesca** minister BCS 506 (862), 518 (868). *Escea* mon. Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 139 (*Aethelr. II*) is probably the same name. Grueber interprets it as *Aescheah*, which is, however, not recorded either in Grueber or, as far as I know, elsewhere in OE.

See *Aesc*.

[**Alfa** Ellis, Intr. II p. 15 stands for *Alfac*, *Alfag*, *Alfah* (= *Aelfheah*) ib.]

**Bad(d)a**<sup>1</sup> : *Bada* LV 85, 472, *Badan* (gen.) BCS 1128 (963—84), 1130 (972—92), *Bada* Ellis, Intr. II p. 46. — *Badda* mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder).

See *Badu*. — MÜLLER p. 46, FORSSNER p. 40.

[**Begga** etc. : *Beggan* presbitero BL 10 (c. 717); *Bægia* servus Dei BCS 139 (718) = *Begia* KCD 69; *Begam* mon. Grueber p. 189 (Aethelr. II).

All probably Celtic, and not to be connected with *Bēag-* (cf. *Beage*); see HOLDER I 366, SEARLE p. 86, RITTER, Anglia XXXIII p. 473, note 1.]

**Beorna**, king of East Anglia,<sup>2</sup> Flor. Worc. 758, p. 249, *Beorna* Will. Malm. ch. 97; cf. *Beonna* Keary p. 83, *Hunbeanna* Sim. Durh. ch. 41.

Cf. *Beorn*; *Beonna*, *Beorra*.

**Beta** Vita S. Cuthb. auct. anon. ch. 32 (c. 680; quoted from Searle).

Possibly a short form of compounds with *Bet-*, for which see MÜLLER p. 122. Cf. OE *dād-bēta* 'penitent'. — Cf. *Bettu*, *Betti*.

**Blaca** LV 256. [*Blacan* mon. Grueber p. 302, Hildebrand p. 344 (Harold I) may be the genitive of *Blaca*, but is more likely an error for *Blac(a)man*.]

If this has really originated as a short form of compounds with *Blæc-*, it appears, however, to have been less clearly associated with *Blæc-* than the following name (cf. *Hwatu*). Cf. the byname Wulfhun ðes *blaca* BCS 591 (c. 912), Wulfsige se *blaca* ib. 1132 (c. 970), Godwine *blaca*, Aelwi *blaca* Thorpe p. 639 (11th cent.); Heunald *niger* Beda HE V 10. See further *Blac*.

**Bl(a)ecca** : *Bluecca* Beda HE II 16 (*Blecca* Transl. p. 137) = *Blecca* Chron. 672 E.

Cf. *Blac*, and the preceding name.

<sup>1</sup> It has already been pointed out in the Introduction that pairs of names are very often found, one of which has the medial consonant doubled and the other not. Owing to the uncertain conditions of quantity and quality in these names, it seems safest to apply the somewhat mechanical principle of always grouping together such forms as *Bada* and *Badda*, *Aba* and *Abba*, *Baga* and *Bæga*, when special reasons do not require a different arrangement, as in the case of, for instance, *Wyna* and *Wynna*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 286.



**Boda** Ellis, Intr. II p. 50.

Apparently identical with OE *boda* 'messenger' and possibly to be connected with compounds such as *Bodric* Grueber p. 330. It is, however, very doubtful whether this name is native, or even Germanic. Cf. Cont. - Germ. *Anderboda*, *Sigboda* etc. FORSSNER pp. 28, 50, 225, 276, HOLM p. 60, and the numerous Celtic names beginning with *Bod-* given by HOLDER I 455 ff., III 892 ff. (where *Boddus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 50 probably belongs.)

**Bot(t)a** : *Bota* LV 155; *Botta* BCS 97, 98 (697).

: *Bôt-*, OE *bôt* 'help, relief'. MÜLLER pp. 48, 85, F 330, WREDE, Ostg. p. 113; HOLDER I 496, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 29. — Cf. *Bote* f.

**Brorda** etc. : *Brorda*<sup>1</sup> BCS 202 (767), 203, 204 (770), 208 (772), 218 (775), 241 (781), 245 (785), 248 (786), 250 (787), 259 (790), 265, 267 (793), 269 (794), 274, 277, 278, 280, 281 (796), 289 (798), 293 (789), 1334 = 237 B (780); *Brordan* (gen.) ib. 205 (764—75), 207, 210 (772), 213, 214 bis (774), 223 (777), 230 bis, 231 (779), 234, 236 (780), 247 (785), 255, 257 (789), 275, 279 (796), 838 = 22 B (664), 847 = 234 B (780), 849 = 264 B (792); Ego *Brordan* (nom.) ib. 216 (774), 221 (776), 272 (796) is probably only a scribal error; *Brordani* (gen.)<sup>2</sup> ib. 22 (664), 213 (774), 231, 232 (779), 240 (781), 253 (788), 264 (792), 273 (796) [= *Brondani* ib. 239 (781)?]; *Broerdan* (gen.) ib. 195 (764); *Brodda* ib. 206 (770); *Brord* ib. 27 (before 672, cf. above); *Brordan* (gen.) Chron. 656 E (= BCS 838), *Brordan* (!) ealdorman ib. 777 E; *Brorda* LV 9; *Brorda* Alcuin, Epistolæ 8 (790); *Brorda* 'Merciorum princeps, qui et *Hildegils* vocatur' Sim. Durh. ch. 61.

: *-brord*, OE *brord* 'prick, point'. KEMBLE, Names p. 100, STARK p. 26, MÜLLER p. 49. Cf. Scand. *Broddr*, *Broddi* etc. (LIND, LUNDGREN, NIELSEN), and as a byname RYGH p. 8, JÓNSSON p. 235.

**Bruna** mon. Grueber p. 230, Hildebrand p. 125, Holm 290 (Aethelr. II).

See *Brun*. — *Bruno* BCS 194 (759—65), Ellis Intr. II pp. 61, 299, DB IV p. 605 (Exon.) may be a Latinized form of OE *Brun(a)*, or else Cont. - Germ.; see FORSSNER p. 52, HOLM p. 19.

**Burga** KCD 1290 (c. 995).

: *Burg-*, OE *burg* 'castle'. MÜLLER p. 121, F 347. — Cf. *Bucge* f., *Burgel*.

<sup>1</sup> For identification see Index Sax. and SEARLE.

<sup>2</sup> OE + Latin genitive. Cf. FORSSNER p. 266.

**Ceol(l)a** : *Ceola*, messenger of St. Boniface, BL 69 (c. 732—51), 70 (c. 745—46); *Ceolan* (gen.) Byrhtnoth 76 (991; cf. Crawf. chart. p. 123); *Ceola* Chron. 611 A, see *Ceol*; cf. also Henry Hunt. II ch. 29 and note; *Ceola* mon. Grueber p. 330, see *Ceoca*. — *Ceolla* LV 413, *Ceolla* Snoding BL 155 (after 757, 'comes seen in hell in a vision' Searle p. 130).

See *Ceol*. MÜLLER pp. 50, 139 ('der Schiffskundige?'). According to CHADWICK, Studies in OE p. 113, *Ceolla* belongs to *Ceorl* (cf. *Beonna* : *Beorn*), which explanation is of course possible, though not very likely : no compounds with *Ceorl*- are on record in OE (only a few names in *-ceorl*), while *Ceol*- is a very common name element.

**Coena** etc. : (*Coen*)a LV 244, *Coena* ib. 295, *Koena* ib. 389; *Koæna*<sup>1</sup> BL 124, *Coena* ib. 125 (767—81), *Coena* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434 (eborac.), *Coena* Flor. Worc. p. 244 (archiepsc. eborac.); *Coena* presbyter BCS 381 (824), 384 (825). Here too probably belongs *Chenna* Ellis, Intr. II p. 66 (if not = *Cynna*); cf. *Chenric* etc. ib.

See *Coen*.

[**Cola**. Probably not a genuine OE name. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 84, FORSSNER pp. 55 f., 274, HOLDER I 1066 f., III 1254 ff., MACBAIN, Etym. Dict. p. 398. — Such an instance as *Cola anglicus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 304 (Berksh.) proves nothing to the contrary, since name and nationality do not necessarily agree; besides, *anglicus* might here be opposed to *normannus*, thus including both Anglo-Saxons and Danes. — Cf. *Col(l)ing*.]

**Cuða** Chron. 568, 571 E, 584, 597 A, 611 A, 685 A, 731 A, 855 A, *Cutha* Aethelweard 568, 584, *Cuþa* Cuðwining, Geneal. Tib. B V 173.

Historical evidence shows that this is a short form of *Cuthwine*, *Cuthwulf*; see further SEARLE p. XIX, PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 2, OMAN pp. 245, 248. The first element of these compounds is OE *cūþ* 'known, famous'. MÜLLER p. 95, F 694, (FORSSNER p. 57). — Cf. *Cudd*, *Cud(d)a*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop of York 767—81. The same man is called *Aeðelberht* Chron. 766 E, 779 E; cf. PLUMMER's note ib. II p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Cudd*, *Cud(d)a* belong to the same stem, and if — as I believe — *Cuda* in LV stands for *Cuða*, it ought of course to be placed here, but since the parallel form *Cudda* is more doubtful I have preferred to put both among the unintelligible *A*-names. It must be admitted that the distinction is rather a

**Cyn(n)a** etc. : *Cyna* LV 130; *Cynna* mon. Grueber p. 240, Hildebrand pp. 161 (Aethelr. II), 310 (Cnut); *Cina* mon. Grueber 198, Hildebrand p. 160 (Aethelr. II), *Cinna* Holm 601 (Cnut); *Cuna*, *Cunna* mon. Hildebrand pp. 160, 161, *Cunna* Grueber p. 238 (Aethelr. II). All these instances probably represent the same name *Cyn(n)a*; Celtic *Cinan*, *Cunan* must, however, be taken into account as well. Cf. HOLM p. 24.

: *Cyne*-, OE *cynn* 'kind, family'. Cf. also OE *cýne* 'regius, nobilis, audax(?)' (GREIN, Sprachschatz). MÜLLER pp. 51, 84, F 378, SCHÖNFELD p. 67, SIEVERS, Anglia XIII p. 11 ff. — Cf. *Cyne* m. and f., *Cynia*.<sup>1</sup>

**Deda** presbyter et abbas Beda HE II 16 (c. 720).

: *Dēd*-, OE *dæd*, *dēd* 'deed'. Cf. OE *yfel-dæda* 'evildoer'. MÜLLER p. 90, ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxfordshire p. 93; HOLDER I 1249. — Cf. *Deduc*.

**Dena** teinus regis E(dwardi) Ellis, Intr. II p. 73.

See *Dene*.

**Deora** etc. : *Deora* episcopus<sup>2</sup> BCS 209, 210 (772), 242 (781), *Diora* antistes ib. 208 (772), *Dioran* Hrofensis ecclesiae antistiti ib. 227 (778), 228 (779), *Dioran* episcopo ib. 260 (765—91), *Diora* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 11, *Deora* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 430; *Diera* episcopus BCS 226 (775—8), 241 (781); *Diora* = *Dera* ib. 442 (843), *Diara* ib. 507 (863), *Deora* or *Diora* mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder); *Diera* DB IV p. 624 (Winton.).<sup>3</sup>

See *Diar*.

**Dunna** BCS 91 (716), *Dunna* mon. Grueber pp. 58, 66 (Aelfred), *Dunna* KCD 897<sup>4</sup>; *Dunna* DB IV p. 606 (Exon.).

See *Dunn*.

**Ead(d)a** etc. : *Eada* BCS 32 (674?), 178 (749), *Eadan* (gen.) ib. 181 (755—7), *Eada* ib. 203, 204 (770), 218 (757—75), *Eada* minister ib. 588, 590 (901); *Eada* LV 116, 135, 177, 191, 210, 273, 372, 392, 411, 416, 419, 423; *Eada* presbiter Alcuin, Epistolæ

fine one, but here, as very often happens, we are concerned with a case where it is almost a matter of taste to decide in which category a name is to be included.

<sup>1</sup> *Kyn*... BCS 1305 (974) is a mutilated form.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Rochester c. 768—83; cf. SEARLE BKN p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Is *Deria* ib. the same name?

<sup>4</sup> The charter dates from the time after 1066, but it appears from the context that *Dunna* 'ðæs biscopes mann' lived in the reign of Eadw. Conf.



53 (782—96?); — *Eadda* episcopus BCS 116, 118 [706; *Cadda* KCD 58 (starred)], 189 (761); — For *Eoda* Haddan-Stubbs III pp. 173, 176 (c. 680), *Eoda* mon. Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 153 (Aethelr. II), see FORSSNER p. 84.

See *Eadu*. KEMBLE, Names p. 97, MÜLLER pp. 52, 139.

**Ealda** etc. : *Ealda* BCS 197 (765); *Alda* LV 95, 175, 257, 277, 377; *Alda* cinges gefera BCS 171 (743—5). Here too probably belongs *Halda* BCS 101 (699; KCD 46 starred). Cf. *Hald-uulfus* BCS 53 = *Aldwulf*, *Haldhere* ib. 89 = *Aldhere*; see KALBOW p. 142 ff.

: (*E*)ald-, OE (*e*)ald 'old'. MÜLLER pp. 45, 95. F 55. — Cf. (*E*)alde m. and f.

**Ecga** : *Ecga* LV 90, 432; *Ecga* (c. 710) Guthlac ch. 13 (the Latin text has *Ecga*); *Ecggan* (a)bbatis BCS 181 (755—7)<sup>1</sup>, *Ecgan* heahgerefan Chron. 778 E, *Ecga* dux Sim. Durh. ch. 49, *Eggan* dux regis Henry Hunt. IV 23 (778); cf. also (ego) *Eggo* comes Linc. BCS 135 (716; forged).

: *Ecg*-, OE *ecg* 'edge'. KEMBLE, Names pp. 98, 100, MÜLLER pp. 53, 86, F 14, BINZ p. 216. — Cf. *Ecgi*, *Ecce*, *Ecci*.

\***Egisa** : *Egisan* (gen.) BCS 42 (676; KCD 14 starred). Cf. also the mysterious gen. *Egesasi* BCS 189 (761?; KCD 106 starred).

: *Egis*-, OE *egesa* 'awe'? F 42. Rather doubtful. Cf. PLUMMER, Beda II p. 66.

**Forða** mon. Grueber p. 460 (Harold II).

: *Forð*-, OE *forð* 'forth'. MÜLLER p. 101.

**Froda** abbas BCS 108 (704; KCD 50 starred); cf. *Froda* Beowulf 2025.

See *Frod*.

**Froma** mon. Grueber p. 353, *Froma* Hildebrand p. 432 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Fram*.

[**Geata** etc. : *Geata* Chron. 855 B, *Geta*, *Gaeta* Nennius ch. 31, *Geata* Asser ch. 1 (cf. STEVENSON'S notes pp. 158, 160), *Geata* Flor. Worc. 547, 849, *Geta* 'quem . . . jam dudum pagani pro Deo venerabantur' Sim. Durh. ch. 66, *Ieta* Henry Hunt. II 1, *Geata* ib. II 21.

See *Geat*.]

<sup>1</sup> *Secggan* KCD 100.

**Gelda** mon. Grueber p. 69 (Aelfred).

Short form of compounds such as *Geldewine* etc. (Grueber p. 512)? From OE *gield*, *geld* 'service, offering, worship'. MÜLLER p. 126, F 638, HOLM p. 43.

**God(d)a** : *Goda* subdiaconus BCS 319 (805), *Goda* diaconus ib. 332 (811), *Goda* ib. 449 (845), *Goda* minister ib. 520 (868), 638 (914), *Goda* optimas ministerque regalis ib. 640 (931—40), *Goda*, *Godan* (obl.) ib. 1064 (c. 961; Searle c. 898)<sup>1</sup>, *Goda* preost ib. 1247, 1248 bis (c. 970), *Goda* minister ib. 1308 (c. 975), KCD 709 (1004), *Godus* (!) minister ib. 723 (1016), *Goda* ib. 929 (c. 1005), *Goda* minister ib. 981 (11th cent.), *Goda* miles ib. 1294 (1000), *Goda* minister ib. 1303 (1007), 1307 (1012); *Goda* mon. Grueber pp. 71 (Aelfred), 213, 229, 230, 233, 236 (Aethelr. II), 290, 291 (Cnut), 303 (Harold I), Hildebrand pp. 54 (cf. *Godda* ib.), 71, 83, 111, 125, 135, 150, 155, 474 (Aethelr. II), 270, 291, 310 (Cnut), 343, 372 (Harold I), Holm 61, 62, 242, 243, 244, 291, 323 (Aethelr. II); *Godan* (gen.) Grueber pp. 245 (Cnut), 303 (Harold I), Hildebrand pp. 216 (Cnut), 374 (Harold I); *Godda* mon. Hildebrand p. 54 (Aethelr. II; cf. above); *Goda* se Defenisca þegen Chron. 988 CE; *Goda* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 119, 120, DB IV pp. 619 (Inq. Eliens.), 625 (Winton.); *Godan* (nom.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 328. Cf. also *Godo* (Latinized form) ib. p. 122.

See *God*.

**Godra** mon. Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 112 (Aethelr. II).

The same man as *Godric* ib.? In that case it is an instance of a dithematic short name.

**Golda** etc. : *Golda* mon. Grueber p. 325 (Harthacnut), *Goldan* (gen.) ib. p. 331, Hildebrand p. 447 (Eadw. Conf.), *Goldæ* (gen.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 340. Cf. *Goldus* mon. Grueber pp. 238 (Aethelr. II), 292 (Cnut), Hildebrand pp. 136, 155 (Aethelr. II), 293 (Cnut), *Goldus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 130. Is this a Latinization of *Golda*, or to be interpreted as *Goldhyse* (Searle p. 266), or *Goldhus* (Holm p. 70)? Those forms are, however, not recorded in OE.

: *Gold-*, OE *gold* 'gold'. F 663. — Cf. *Golde* m. and f.

[**Grima** : *Griman* (gen.?) mon. Grueber p. 245 (Cnut).

: Scand. *Grim-*, or an Anglicization of *Grim*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 50, Namenk. p. 38.]

<sup>1</sup> BCS 1065, a Latin version of the preceding charter, has the following forms of *Goda* : nom. *Goda*, gen. *Godonis*, dat. *Godæ*, *Godoni*, abl. *Gedone*.

**Guða** LV 369.

: *Gūð-*, OE *gūð* 'combat, battle, war'. MÜLLER pp. 54, 86, F 693, SCHÖNFELD p. 116. Cf. the Scand. equivalent of this name, *Gunni*, and its Anglicized form *Gunna* BCS 1130 (972—92); see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 56, Namenk. p. 40. — Cf. *Gud(ā)a*.

**Haeha** abbas BCS 108 (704; var. *Heaha*). According to Haddan-Stubbs III p. 247, the charter is not genuine.

: *Hēah-*, OE *hēah* 'high'. For the form cf. BULBRING § 200; cf. also compounds such as *Haehferð* BCS 588. — F 800, SCHÖNFELD p. 132.

**Hroda** BCS 1246 (c. 970).

: *Hrōð-*,<sup>1</sup> connected with OE *hrōðor* 'solace, joy, pleasure, benefit', *hrēð* 'victory, glory', on which see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 267, TORP, Wortschatz p. 105. — MÜLLER pp. 89, 105, F 885, SCHÖNFELD p. 142, FORSSNER p. 216, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Hreðric'.

**Hueta** DB IV p. 609 (Exon.).

See *Hwatu*.

**Hwita** etc. : *Huita* LV 419, 440, 480; *Huita* episcopus<sup>2</sup> BCS 165 (c. 743), *Huuita* episcopus Mertiorum ib. 174 (747; var. *Huitta*), *Huita* Merciorum episcopus ib. 178 (749), *Huita* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 39 (episc. merc.), *Hwita* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433<sup>3</sup>; *Hwita* presbiter BCS 379 (824), *Hwita* ms ib. 538 (874), *Huuita* prepositus ib. 1308 (c. 975)<sup>4</sup>; *Hwita* beocere KCD 1354 (11th cent.). Cf. *Whita* Ellis, Intr. II p. 266.

: *Hwīt-*, OE *hwīt* 'white'. *Hwita* also occurs as a byname in OE, e. g. Wulfnoð *hwita* BCS 639 (before 925), Wulfweardæ *hwitan* (dat.) KCD 1337 (c. 1053), Wulfwerd *wita*, Ordgar se *wite* ib. 897 (after 1066); þurkil *hwita* ib. 755 (before 1038); cf. Heuuald *albus* Beda HE V 10. MÜLLER p. 56, F 939. — Cf. *Hwite* m. and f., *Hwituc*, *Hwiting*; *Wit(t)a*.

**Hyssa** : *Hyssan* presbiteri BCS 91 (696—716), *Hyssa* LV 101. — *Hyssa* mon. Holm 1 (Burgred) is probably = *Hussa*, q. v., as the editor suggests p. 45.

See *Hys(s)e*. MÜLLER p. 56.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hrodlafes holm* BCS 1052.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Lichfield 737—c. 750; SEARLE BKN p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> In Sim. Durh. 737 this man is called *Hwicca*.

<sup>4</sup> The signatures are evidently borrowed from an earlier charter. Cf. *Beocca*, *Cyma*, *Monnel*.



*Ina*, see *Ini*.

**Kaenta** LV 160.

: *Cent-*, OE *Cent* 'Kent', *Centingas* 'inhabitants of Kent'.

MÜLLER pp. 5, 102. For the etymology of the county name, see TAYLOR, *Names and their histories* p. 161.

**Lafa** LV 200, *Laba* ib. 347.

: *-lāf*, OE *lāf* 'remnant'. MÜLLER pp. 57, 126, F 996. — Cf. *Lafe*.

**Leof(f)a** etc. : *Leofa* minister BCS 1030, 1033 (958). 1046, 1047 (959), 1093 (962), 1165 (965), 1230, 1231 (969), 1266 (970), 1282, 1286 (972), 1302, 1304, 1309 (974), 1316 (975); *Leoua* minister ib. 1035 (958); *Leofa* minister ib. 1045 (959); *Lefa* minister ib. 1269 (970); *Leofa* Thorpe p. 635 (11th cent.); *Liaban* (dat.) BCS 536 (873)<sup>1</sup>; *Liaba* mon. Keary p. 44 (Mercia, Berhtwulf), *Liaba* (or *Liuba*) mon. Grueber pp. 16, 17 (Aethelwulf), '*Lefa* *Leva*, *Leofa* etc.' ib. p. 200, *Lefa* ib. p. 220 (Aethelr. II), *Lefa*, *Leofa* ib. p. 246, *Leofa* ib. p. 275 (Cnut); *Leva* mon. Hildebrand p. 74, *Lefa*, *Leofa* ib. p. 80 (cf. *Leoffa* ib.), *Leva* ib. p. 81 (Aethelr. II), *Leofa*, *Leefa* ib. p. 241, *Leofa* ib. pp. 243, 279 (Cnut); cf. *Lefv* mon. Holm 413, and p. 48; *Liofa* Chron. 946 D (cf. *Leof*); — *Leoffa* pbr Cawf. chart. 6 (969), *Leoffa* presbyter BCS 1228 (969), 1264 (970), 1311 (974). Cf. also *Leoffius* diaconus KCD 809 (1060; starred), *Leoffius* nepos eius ib.

See *Leof*. — *Leofa* is also found as a byname in OE : *Wulgar leofa* BCS 1022, 1026 (958).

**Lioda** LV 358.

: *Liod-*, OE *lēod*, *liod* 'man'. MÜLLER pp. 57, 89, F 1030. (Cf. *Leod*; *Ledi*).

**Lufa** mon. Grueber pp. 200 (Aethelr. II), 290 (Cnut), Hildebrand pp. 135 (Aethelr. II), 291 (Cnut), Holm 324 (Aethelr. II). *Lyva* mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 74 (Aethelr. II) is probably another spelling of this name. — Cf. *Lubo* BCS 405 (833).

A short form of compounds such as *Luf(e)stan*, *Luferic* (Grueber p. 519), parallel forms to *Leofstan*, *Leofric*. In late OE the two name-elements *lēof* and *lufu* were often confused, which is best illustrated by *Leofing*, *Lufing* etc., q. v. Cf. HOLM p. 52, BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 61, note 2. — See *Lufu*.

<sup>1</sup> Kentish charter. In a contemporary handwriting ib. *Leafa*, and in a later hand (ME) *Lieuen* (dat.).

**Man(n)a, Monna** : *Monna* pr BCS 319 (805), 400 (831); *Monna* mon. Mercia Ceolwulf I (Montagu; quoted from Searle p. 568); *Man(n)a* mon. Grueber passim<sup>1</sup> (Aethelwulf, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgar, Aethelr. II, Eadw. Conf., Harold II); *Man(n)a* mon. Hildebrand pp. 20, 474 (Eadweard II), 55, 91, 134, 148, 150, 151 (Aethelr. II), 216, 251, 286, 303 (Cnut), 355, 366 (Harold I), 431 443, 450, 455 (Eadw. Conf.); *Mana* mon. Holm 354, *Manna* ib. 66, 361 (Aethelr. II); cf. *Nanan* mon. Grueber p. 183 (Eadgar), *Mna* ib. p. 20, Hildebrand p. 148 (Aethelr. II); *Mannan* (gen.) KCD 1353 (11th cent.), *Manna* Cenwaldes sunu ib. 1354 (11th cent.); *Manna* Ellis, Intr. II p. 183 (Norf.).

See *Mann*. — Several of the instances above are probably Anglicized forms of Scand. *Manni*, just as *Mannan* (acc.) eorl Chron. 921 A; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 95, Namenk. p. 61. Cf. WREDE, Ostg. p. 156, HOLM p. 53.

**Mecga** presbiter BCS 379 (824).

Either a geminated short form of some compound with *Mæg-*, *Mēg-* (see *Mæg*), or to be connected with OE *mæcg*, *mecg* 'man', which is not found recorded as a compound element in OE names.

**Orda** DB IV p. 610 (Exon.).

: *Ord-*, OE *ord* 'point, spear - point, spear'. F 1179. — Cf. *Orde*, *Ording*, (*Odda*).

**Os(s)a** : *Osa* episcopus BCS 145 (no date), 198 (765), *Osa* archiepiscopus ib. 206 (770) = *Osa* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 13 (episc. austr. sax.), *Osa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431 (*Bosa* Geneal. Tib. B V 169); *Osa* BCS 262 (c. 791). — *Oswin*, king of Northumbria 642–71, is called *Ossa* in a Celtic poem, cited in Adamnan, Columba p. XLIV, note g. Cf. *Ossa* Nennius ch. 57 = *Oesa*, q. v., *Ossa* ib. ch. 58 = *Oisc*, q. v.

: *Ōs-*, OE *ōs* 'divinity, god'. Cf. *Os* Runic Poem 10; see DICKINS p. 13. According to DCB IV 159 *Osa*, bishop of Selsey c. 760–75 (SEARLE BKN p. 54), is possibly identical with *Osuualdus* episcopus, who occurs among the signatories of BCS 208 (772). — MÜLLER p. 94, F 120, SCHÖNFELD p. 23; BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 10, note 1, FORSSNER p. 29 ff., ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxfordshire p. 163. — Cf. *Oisc*, *Oesa*, *Esa*, *Oese*, *Ese*, *Esla*.

**Plecga** LV 310.

<sup>1</sup> See GRUEBER p. 520; G. does not distinguish this name from *Man*, *Manne*.

: *Pleg-*, belonging to OE *plega* 'quick motion, exercise; play, sport; battle'. As far as it is permissible to judge from this isolated example, the gemination suggests the idea that the name was understood as a hypocoristic short form rather than associated with the appellative *plega*. As a parallel to this one might adduce the well-known fact that Greek short names have very often an accent differing from that of the corresponding subst. or adj., e. g. *Γλαῦκος* (<*Γλαύκ-ιππος*) : *γλανκός* (FICK p. XVIII). MÜLLER pp. 58, 92, 140 ('der im Spiel gewandte'; if the above argument is correct, such a translation must be regarded as somewhat too imaginative. Cf. further Introduction.).

**Scira** BCS 208 (772).

: *Scīr-*, OE *scīr* 'bright'. MÜLLER p. 97, F 1308, SCHÖNFELD p. 200.

**Seaxa** etc. : *Seaxa* Sledding<sup>1</sup>, Sax. Geneal. 23, *Sæxa* Flor. Worc. p. 250 (reg. orient. sax.); *Saxsa* mon. Grueber p. 138 (Eadmund); *Saxa* festermun BCS 1130 (972—92); *Sexa* eniht (of Tokig) KCD 1336 (1045—52), *Sexa* Thorpe p. 617 (11th cent.); *Saxa* Ellis, Intr. II p. 209, *Saxo* ib. p. 210 (both from Suff.).

: *Seax-*, OE *seax* 'knife, short sword'. Cf. also OE *Seaxe* 'Saxons'. F 1288, SCHÖNFELD p. 200, MUCH, Hoops Reallex. IV p. 62. — The relation between this name and *Saxi*, *Sexi* given by BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 116, is not quite clear. At least three of the instances above (BCS 1130, Ellis) are very probably Anglicizations of Scand. *Saxi*; on the other hand the examples of *Saxi*, *Sexi(us)* in DB (Ellis, Intr. II pp. 210, 213) are partly drawn from counties where Scand. provenance is less probable. Thus it would perhaps be safest to assume that an OE name *Se(a)xi* existed by the side of Scand. *Saxi*.

**Secgga** : *Secggan* bb (gen.) KCD 100 (c. 756).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *secg*, m. 'man, warrior, hero', or *secg*, f. 'sword'. The compound names in which this theme occurs scarcely count for anything : *Antsecg* and *Gesecg* Sax. Geneal. 16, and the Danish king *Bagsecg* Chron. 871 (= *Osecg* Will. Malm. ch. 119); see HACKENBERG p. 95. Cf. also *Secgan*, *Sycgan*, the name of a Germanic people, Finn 26, Widsith 31, 62; see CHAMBERS p. 199, MUCH, Hoops Reallex. IV p. 430. — Cf. *Secgge*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Ecggan* BCS 181. BCS 1135, adduced as an instance in Index Sax., has *Secgesbearuwe*.



**Si(c)ga** etc. : *Sigga* diaconus Folcard, Life of St. John of Beverley p. 258 (c. 710); *Sigega* episcopus<sup>1</sup> BCS 162 (742), *Siega* (episcopus) Australium Saxonum ib. 174 (747)<sup>2</sup>, *Siegga* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 13 (episc. austr. sax.), *Siegga* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431 (*Sigga* Geneal. Tib. B V 169); *Sigan* (obl.) Chron. 789 E, *Siega* ib. 793; *Sigga* presbiter BCS 325 (806); cf. also *Gosigha* ib. 250 (787; Croyland forg.), an error for *Ego Sigha*, as is seen from *Sigha* patricius Alcuin, Epistolæ 3 (786). *Sigga* Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum ch. 74 stands for *Sibba*, q. v.

: *Sig(e)-*, OE *sige* 'victory'. KEMBLE, Names p. 97, MÜLLER p. 118, F 1317, SCHÖNFELD pp. 201, 204.

\***Spila** : *Spilan* (dat.) Crawf. chart. 10 (1000—12).

: *Spil-*, belonging to OE *spilian* 'to sport, play'. Only found in *Spil(e)man*; see Crawf. chart. p. 132, HOLM p. 62. F 1356. — Cf. *Spille*.

[**Sw(e)arta**. Cf. *Swart* above and literature there quoted.]

**Sweta** BCS 1244 (c. 970); *Sweta* (or *Swet*) mon. Grueber p. 247, *Sweta* mon. Hildebrand p. 215 (Cnut); *Sueta* DB IV pp. 613 (Exon.), 629 (Winton.).

See *Swet*.

**Suitha** LV 101.

: *Swið-*, OE *swið* 'strong'. MÜLLER pp. 59, 124, F 1380. — Cf. *Suitha* f.

**Swota** mon. Grueber p. 257 (Cnut), *Swota* (or *Swote*) ib. p. 303 (Harold I), *Swota* (or *Swot*) ib. pp. 333, 341 (Eadw. Conf.), *Swota* mon. Hildebrand pp. 292 (Cnut), 341 (Harold I), 430 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Swot*.

**Tata** : *Tata* minister BCS 550 (882), *Tata* ib. 585 (901),<sup>3</sup> *Ta-ta* presbyter ib. 594 (901), *Tata* minister ib. 596 (901) = *Taeta* minister ib. 598 (901)<sup>4</sup>, *Tata* presbyter ib. 599 bis (902), *Tata* fasallo ib. 601 (903), *Tata* m̄ ib. 602 (903), *Tata* presbyter ib. 604, 605, 612, 613 (904), *Tata* biseop ib. 617 (879—908), *Tata* presbyter ib. 622 (909), 1338 = 605 B (c. 904); *Tata* mon. Keary p.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Selsey 733—c. 760. His real name was *Sigefrið* or *Sigehelm*; see SEARLE BKN p. 54, DCB s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Note ib. : *Siega* (vel *Sigehelm*) A, *Siegga* B, *Singa* C, *Sigehelm* D!

<sup>3</sup> *Mata* KCD 329.

<sup>4</sup> *Tutac* minister ib. 597 (901) is evidently due to a misreading by the scribe; cf. BCS II p. 250, note 1.

64 (Mercia, Burgred), Grueber p. 57 (Aelfred); *Tatan* gebures KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

: *Tāt-*. This word is not recorded in OE except as a name-element, but it is most likely identical with OHG *zeiz* 'dear, beloved', OWScand. *teitr* 'glad, cheerful'. Cf. also the OE verb *tātan* 'to caress' (CLARK HALL), 'to gladden, make cheerful' (BOSWORTH-TOLLER), which is a causative to the adj. *tāt* (see SCHULDT, Bild. d. schw. Verba im Ae. p. 38). That the adj. occurred independently in OE, however, or at any rate that the theme *Tāt-* was understood by the Anglo-Saxons seems to appear from an often cited passage in Beda HE II 9: . . . 'accepta in coniugem *Aedilbergæ* filia Aedilbereti regis, quæ alio nomine *Tatæ* uocabatur'. It is obvious that *Tatæ* cannot be an ordinary short form of *Aedilbergæ*; the names have nothing in common, and therefore *Tatæ* must here be looked upon as a real byname. It might then be thought that it is a mere lall-name, standing in the same relation to *Aedilbergæ* as OG *Poppo* to *Folemar* (SOCIN p. 195), and that possibility is of course not excluded.<sup>1</sup> Yet it seems most natural to connect the byname etymologically with the name-element *Tāt-*, which in all probability has the origin suggested above; in that case *Tatæ* and *Tata* must have been intelligible. — In Germanic and Celtic names we also find a short stem *\*tata-* of debated etymology (cf. WREDE, Wand. p. 83, Ostg. pp. 124, 135, REEB p. 41, F 1392, SCHÖNFELD p. 221, HOLDER II 1752 f.), but as geminated forms are never met with in OE *Tata*, the vowel is probably long. — KEMBLE, Names p. 94 f., MÜLLER pp. 63, 97, F 1387, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 140, Namenk. p. 83, HOLM p. 21. — Cf. *Tate* f., *Tatel*; *Tætica*, *Tæbba*, *Tætwa*.

**Teoda** : *Teodan* (gen.) BCS 72 (688), 89 (696), *Teoda* principis ib. 89 (696; KCD 994, 40 starred).

: *Thēod-*, OE *þēod* 'people'. MÜLLER p. 86, F 1409, SCHÖNFELD p. 227, FORSSNER p. 230, HOLDER II 1802.

**Tida** BCS 146 (727), *Tidan* prepositi ib. 168 (744), *Tidan* (gen.) ib. 307 (c. 802), *Tida* presbyter ib. 507 (863), 610 (904).

: *Tīd-*, OE *tīd* 'time'. MÜLLER p. 90, F 1675. — Cf. *Tidi*.

**Tila** mon. Grueber pp. 93, 96 (Eadw. the Elder), 102 (Aethelstan).

: *Til-*, OE *til* 'good'. MÜLLER p. 98, F 1394. — Cf. *Til(l)e*, *Tilne*; *Tibba* m. and f.; *Teol*, *Teolling*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HELLQUIST, N. T. f. Fil. 3 R. XII p. 68, Xen. Lid. p. 86.

**Tun(n)a** : *Tuna* BCS 91 (716), *Tunan* (gen.) ib. 159 (738), *Tuna* clericus ib. 1139 (961—70), 1182 (966), 1206, 1207 (967), 1232, 1233, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242 (969), KCD 615 (977); *Tuna* mon. Grueber p. 213, Hildebrand p. 55, Holm 68, 69 (Aethelr. II); — *Tunna* Beda HE IV 20<sup>1</sup> (*Tunna*, *Tuna* Transl. p. 456); *Tunna* ~~1~~ 115, 207; *Tunna* festermōn BCS 1130 (972—92); *Tunna* Ellis, Intr. II p. 244.

*Tuna* is a short form of compounds with *Tūn-* (cf. *Tun*); *Tunna* is either a geminated form of this name, or of Celtic origin (HOLDER II 1992), or — in the case of BCS 1130 — to be connected with (Scand.?) *Tunne*, q. v. — MÜLLER p. 61, HOLM p. 65.

**Wana** Ellis, Intr. II p. 265 (Kent).

Doubtful. In OE names this element occurs only in *Unwona*, *Unwana*<sup>2</sup>, and this name is, moreover, rather uncertain, since — according to some authorities — bishop *Unwona* was a 'Cambro-Britannus' (see DNB s. v.; cf. also HOLDER III 98). If *-wana*, *Wana* is really native, it belongs to OE *wan* 'wanting, deficient', (*ge*)*wana* 'lack, want, deficiency', or possibly to OE *wann* 'dark, dusky, lurid'. F 1521 gives a number of OG names in *Wan-*, which he connects with OHG *wân* 'belief, hope, expectation'. Those continental names then correspond to OE names in *Wēn-*, whereas F's identification of OE *Wana* with OHG *Wano* is impossible, provided that the latter belongs to OHG *wân* and that *Wana* is genuine OE. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that *Wana* in DB is borrowed from the Continent.

**W(e)alda** : *Wealda* presbyter BCS 612 (904), *Walda* presbyter ib. 613 (904), *Waldo* presbyter ib. 594 (901), *Wald* presbyter ib. 604 (904; var. *Walda*)<sup>3</sup>. Cf. *Wald* Widsith 30; see CHAMBERS p. 198, BINZ p. 219.

: *W(e)ald-*, belonging to OE *w(e)aldan* 'to rule'. Cf. KÄRRE, *Nomina agentis* in OE p. 28, MÜLLER p. 121, F 1496.

**Wegga** Björkman, *Festermen* pp. 5, 18 (1000—50), *Wegga* optimas KCD 819 (1060—6).

<sup>1</sup> 'Habebat enim germanum fratrem, cui nomen erat *Tunna*, presbyterum et abbatem monasterii in ciuitate quae hactenus ab eius nomine *Tunnacaestir* cognominatur'.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Leicester c. 783—803 (SEARLE BKN p. 144). In BCS at least thirteen different spellings of his name are found.

<sup>3</sup> *ƿealda* mon. Grueber p. 304 (Harold I) is probably a misreading for *Wealda*.



: *Weg-*, OE *weg* 'way, road'. Compounds are, however, rare; see OET p. 525. The form *Elhwegga*, given by SEARLE p. 227, is due to a misreading; see BJÖRKMAN, *Festermen* p. 5, note 3. Cf. also OE *wegan* 'carry, support', *wecg* 'wedge', *wecgan* 'move, agitate'. — Cf. *Wege*.

**Wehha** etc. : *Wehha* Wilhelming<sup>1</sup>, *Geneal. Vesp.* B VI 119, *Wehh* *Geneal. Corp. Chr.* 438, *Guecha* Nennius ch. 59, *Wewa* vel *Wehha* *Flor. Worc.* p. 249 (*geneal. reg. orient. angl.*).

: *Wēh-*, OE *wīh*, *wēoh* 'idol, image', and cognate words. Cf. *Wehhelm* BCS 391, 392, 393 (826), *Weoxtan*, *Weohstan*, *Wihstan* *Chron.* 800, *Beowulf* 2602 etc. See F 1589, BINZ p. 160 and literature there quoted.

**Wi(c)ga** etc. : *Uicga* LV 466; *Wigga* BCS 201 (767), *Uuigegan* (*gen.*) bis ib. 255 (787), 257 (789), *Wigga* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Wicga* dux ib. 267 (793), 272 (791—6), *Wigegan* ducis ib. 273 (793—6), *Wicga* dux ib. 280 (796), *Uuicga* dux ib. 281 (796), *Vuicggan* (*gen.*) ib. 289 (798), *Uicga* dux ib. 293 (799; *Wiga* KCD 1020); *Wicga* p' ib. 308 (803), *Wicga* dux ib. 313, 314 (804), *Uuigga* dux ib. 321, *Wicgga* dux ib. 322 (805), *Wicga* ib. 416 (836), 430 (840), *Wicga* minister ib. 433 (841), *Wicga* ib. 450 (847), 452 (848); — *Wyga* BCS 211 (c. 774) is evidently = *Wiga*; cf. *Wyghere* ib.; *Wiga*, *Wigha* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 267. — *Wigea* diaconus and *Wigea* presbyter BCS 599 (902) are interpreted as *Wigheah* by SEARLE; this does not, however, seem very likely, as the names of the other signatories of the charter are not at all corrupt.

See *Wig*. — MÜLLER p. 62.

**Wida**, see *Widia*.

**Willa** : *Uuillan* abbatis BCS 223 (777), 232 bis (778—9), *Willa* ib. 466 (852); *Willa* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 268.

: *Wil-*, OE *willa* 'will'. MÜLLER p. 93, FORSSNER p. 255 ff., F 1592, WREDE, *Ostg.* pp. 87, 103, SCHÖNFELD p. 265. — Cf. *Uilloc*, *Wilne*, *Wilinc*.

**Wina** : *Wina* biscop of Lundone *Chron.* 656 E (cf. *Wine* biscop of Lundene ib. among the witnesses), *Wyna* *Lundoniensis Episcopus* BCS 22 (664; KCD 984 starred); *Uuina* ib. 426 (839).

See *Wine*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

**Wintra** : *Wintra* BCS 101 (699), *Uuintra* abbas ib. 108 (704)<sup>1</sup>, *Uuintran* abbati bis KCD 104 (759)<sup>2</sup>.

Probably a short form of names such as *Wintred*. Whatever its origin was (cf. F 1617, 1620, FORSSNER p. 258), the Anglo-Saxons could not fail to associate *Wintra* with OE *winter* 'winter'.<sup>3</sup>

**Wit(t)a** : *Wita* episcopus BCS 32 (674?), *Uuita* episcopus ib. 162 (742)<sup>4</sup>; — *Witta* Weeting<sup>5</sup>, Chron. 449 E, *Uuita* ejus pater Uecta Beda HE I 15 (var. *Uita*; Transl. p. 42 *Witta*), *Uitta* Uihgtilsing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 115 (Cantwar.), *Witta* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Guigta* Nennius ch. 31; *Uitta* abbas BCS 108 (704), *Uitta* LV 305; *Witta* or *Albinus*(!), bishop of Buraburg, † 786, DCB III 760 = *Hwita* [cf. *Wittane* (Lat. dat.) BL 52 (743), *Wintanum* (acc.) ib. 56 (742), *Hwita* ib. p. 721, *Witta* JMM p. 490]; *Witta* Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum ch. 172 = *Hwita*, bishop of Lichfield. — Cf. *Witta* Widsith 22; see CHAMBERS p. 194.

: *Wit-*, OE *witan* 'to know', *wita* 'sage, wise man, councillor'. Sometimes confused with *Hwita*, q. v. MÜLLER pp. 62, 83, F 1626. *Wiht-* is also another possibility (see *Wihta*); cf. STARK p. 84, note 3, MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf p. 61, HACKENBERG p. 93. — Cf. *Witil*.

**Wud(d)a** : *Wuda* BCS 146 (727)<sup>6</sup>; *Unudda* ib. 71 (688), *Wuddan* (gen.) ib. 72 (688).<sup>7</sup>

: *Wudu-*, OE *wudu* 'wood'. Compound names with *wudu* as the first member are not found till late OE; on the other hand cf., for instance, *Oswudu* BCS 123 (704–9). F 1562, SCHÖNFELD p. 264, BINZ p. 211; STARK p. 3. — Cf. *Wudia*; *Puda*.

**Wulfa** mon. Line. Hildebrand p. 255 (Cnut).

See *Wulf*. *Wulfa* seems to stand for *Wulfbeorn*; see HILDEBRAND p. 331 and BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 166.

**Wyna**, see *Wina*.

**Wynna** BCS 445 (844); *Uynna* LV 167.

<sup>1</sup> KCD 46, 50 starred.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtful : BCS 186 has *Wirtrun*, *Wintrun*. Cf. *Wintrung* JMM p. 463 (c. 755) and *Wintra* ib. p. 439, and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Uinter* medicus Alcuin, Epistolæ 8 (790); nationality?

<sup>4</sup> According to Haddan-Stubbs III p. 342 he is the same as *Hwitta* (*Hwita*?), bishop of Lichfield 737–c. 750.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> *Puda* KCD 75.

<sup>7</sup> KCD 28, 994 starred.

: *Wyn-*, OE *wyn* 'joy, rapture'. MÜLLER pp. 62, 91, F 1664. — Cf. *Winn*, *Wunning*.

### b. Unintelligible.

**Aeffa** : *Aeffa* minister BCS 550 (882), *Aeffan* (acc.) ib. 1248 (c. 970); bæ *Aelfgare Aeffan* suna KCD 722 (c. 1015)<sup>1</sup>, *Aeffa* minister ib. 743 (1026), *Aeffan* (gen.) ib. 1290 (c. 995).

See *Aelf*. — The name of *Aeffa*'s son, *Aelfgar*, may perhaps indicate that the Anglo-Saxons of c. AD 1000 knew that *Aeffa* contained the theme *Aelf-*, and that the ancient Germanic principles of name-giving were still followed<sup>2</sup>. This is of course a mere guess, and since those problems fall entirely outside the scope of my inquiry, I shall not venture to state anything as to how matters really stood in OE. Cf. especially STORM, *Arkiv f. nord. fil.* IX p. 199 ff., SOCIN p. 201 ff.

**Ael(l)a** : *Aela* minister BCS 1210 (867; KCD 1259 starred); — *Aella* LV 140, 472; *Aella* BCS 447 (844), *Aella* episcopus ib. 659 (926), 705, 706 (934) [= *Ella* episcopus ib. 707 (934)]<sup>3</sup>; *Aella* minister ib. 779 (942—6); *Aella*, king of the Deirans, Ann. Wint. 561, Ann. Lind. 560, 593 (cf. *Aelli*); *Aella*, king of the Northumbrians<sup>4</sup>, Ann. Lind. 863, 868, *Aellan* (acc.) cyning Chron. 867, *Aella* Asser ch. 27. — *Aelloc* minister BCS 597 (901) is evidently a scribal mistake for *Aella*; cf. note l. c.

Belonging to compounds such as *Aelbeorht*, or — with an assimilation different from that in *Aeffa* — to compounds with *Aelf-*. MÜLLER p. 45. — Cf. *Aelf*, *Alla*, *Ealla*, *Ella*, *Ael(l)i*.

**Al(l)a** : *Ala* Ellis, Intr. II p. 12 (Suff.); — *Alla* Stephens III p. 189 (c. 684—700?); *Alla* BCS 588 (901), *Alla* minister ib. 596 (901), 601, 602 (903), 605 (904), 1338 = 605 B (c. 904); *Alloc* minister ib. 598 (901), cf. *Aelloc* above. — *Alla* Will. Malm. ch. 45 (560), *Alla* 'tyrannus' Sim. Durh. ch. 70 (867), cf. *Aella*, *Aelli*.

Either native or, with the exception of the instance taken from STEPHENS, an Anglicization of Scand. *Al(l)i*, which is also found in England (BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* pp. 2, 4). In any case we are

<sup>1</sup> *Aelffan* Thorpe p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analogous case of *Eadbryht Eating* below.

<sup>3</sup> Also called *Aelli* = *Aelfwine*, bishop of Lichfield c. 920—38; see SEARLE BKN p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 314, DNB I p. 169.



concerned with a short form of compounds with Germanic *Ala-*, for which see MÜLLER p. 100, FORSSNER pp. 8, 18 ff., F 51, MEYER-LÜBKE, Rom. Namenst. p. 9, SCHÖNFELD p. 14.

**An(n)a, On(n)a**: *Anna*, king of the East Angles<sup>1</sup>, Beda HE III 7, 8, 18, 19, 22, 24, IV 19, *Anna* cining Chron. 653 E, 654 E = *Onna* ib. 654 A, *Anna* rex Ann. Lind. 654, *Anna* east engla cynincg, Aelfric LS I p. 432; *Anna* LV 2, *Ona* ib. 200, *Onna* ib. 366; *Anna* mon. Grueber p. 155 (Eadred); *Anna* abbas KCD 1317 (1022); *Ana*, *Anus* DB IV p. 618 (Inq. Eliens.).

: *Arn-*, *Earn-* (see *Eaern*), or *An-*, connected with Goth. *ana-* (MÜLLER p. 101), or OE *ann*, *unnan* (see *Una*). Cf. GRIMM, D. Gr. III p. 670: '*Anno*, für *Arno*, *Arnhart*, wie *Benno* für *Berno*'. See further MÜLLER p. 57, F 99, STARK p. 51, WREDE, Ostg. p. 107, SOCIN p. 195, v. GRIENBERGER, Z. f. d. Ph. XXXVII p. 544, SCHÖNFELD pp. 19, 22, HOLDER s. v. — Cf. *Onoc*.

**B(a)eda** etc.: *Bieda*, son of Port, Chron. 501 ABCE = *Biedda* ib. F = *Beda* Aethelweard 500 (cf. STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 36, CHADWICK, Origin p. 29); *Beda* Bubbing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 108 (Lind.), *Beda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437; *Baeda* Stephens I p. 476 E (700—800?); — *B(a)eda*, Bede the Venerable (673—735), whose name is frequently found in OE sources: *Baeda* Beda HE dedication (*Beda* Transl. p. 1), *Baeda*, *Beda* ib. V 24 (*Beda*, *Bēda* Transl. p. 694); *Beda* Beda, Epistolæ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, *Beda* Beda, Cuthb. præfatio (cf. below), *Beda* Beda, Epist. ad Ecgbertum p. 405; *Baeda* De obitu Baedae; *Beda* Chron. 734 BCDEF, *Bieda* ib. A, *Beda* Ann. Cambr. 735, *Beda* Ann. Lind. 677, 683, 695, 725, 731, 735; *Beāa* BCS 428, 686, 1267; *Baeda*, *Beda* BL 75, 76, 116, 125, 126, 127; *Beda* 'præclarus nitodo sermone magister' Alcuin, Versus 684, 743, 780, 1206, 1300, 1546, *Beda*, *Baeda* Alcuin, Carmina pp. 233, 294, *Baeda*, *Beda* Alcuin, Epistolæ 19, 88, 191, 203, 213, 216, 259, 284; *Beda* 'se arwurða rímcraeftiga' Byrhtferth p. 301; *Beda* Aelfric LS I p. 432, II pp. 126, 142; — *Beda* presbyter, Beda, Cuthb. ch. 37 (see DCB I 304); *Beda* LV 98, 105, 167, 216, 278; *Bedan* (dat.) KCD 1290 (c. 995)<sup>2</sup>.

: *Bēd-*, which probably represents a theme *\*baudi-*, formed from the verb *\*beudan-*, OE *bēodan* 'to command', by the addition

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> *Bædda*(?) BCS 1282, given in Index Sax., is abstracted from *Bæddes wellan*.

of the suffix *-i* (KLUGE, *Stammbildungslehre* § 5). It is thus parallel to *Byda*, q. v., which, as is usually the case, is formed from the weak grade *\*bud-* of the same verb. For the interchange *Bāda*, *Bēda* (Angl.), *Bīeda* (WSax.), see SIEVERS, *AgS. Gr.* § 159<sup>1</sup>. — MÜLLER pp. 11, 47, 108; cf. also BRUCKNER p. 89, F 249, SCHÖNFELD p. 48, MC CLURE, *Early Welsh pers. names* p. 267. — Cf. *Baede*, *Bedca*, *Bedling*.

**Beonna** etc. : *Beonna* presbiteri BCS 91 (697—716), *Beonna* ib. 157 (723—37); *Beonna* abbas ib. 201 (in an endorsement from c. 800), *Beonnan* abbatis ib. 255 (787), *Beonna* abbas ib. 257 (789), 264 (792), 271, 272, *Benna* abbas de Medeshamsted ib. 268 (793), *Beonnani* abbatis ib. 273, *Beonnan* abbatis ib. 274 (before 796), *Beonna* abbas ib. 280, 281 (796), 289 (798), *Bionna* abbas ib. 293 (799), *Beonna* presbiter abbas ib. 310, 312 (803), 318 (805), *Beonna* electus ib. 378 (824), *Beonna* episcopus ib. 379 (824), 384 (825), *Bionna* episcopus ib. 386 (825), *Beonnan* (gen.) ib. 512<sup>2</sup>, *Beonna* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433 (*Peonna* Geneal. Tib. B V 170); *Beonna* LV 178, 182, 239, 240, 250, 298, 371, 468; *Beonna* abbot Chron. 777 E; *Beonna* rex Keary p. 83 (c. 760; cf. *Beorna*). Cf. *Beonna* = S. *Benignus* Will. Malm. ch. 24 (c. 475).

See *Beorn*. MÜLLER p. 47, STARK p. 25, GRIMM, *Gr.* III p. 669.

**Beorra** : 'consientibus . . . episcopis Sigfrido. *Beorran*. et Eccam' BCS 145 (c. 725).

See *Beorn*. STARK p. 124, note 2.

**Bynna, Binna** : *Bynnan* (gen.) BCS 148 (732), 187 (759), 256 (789), *Bynna* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Bynna* dux ib. 269 (794), *Bynna* princeps ib. 272, 273 (c. 795), *Bynna* ib. 274 (c. 796), *Bynna* frater regis ib. 379 (824), 384 (825), *Bynna* ib. 386 (825) = *Bynnan* (dat.) ib. 632 (916)<sup>3</sup>; *Bynnan* (gen.) ib. 846 = 141 B (727?), 849 = 264 B (c. 795); cf. *Bynnan* (obl.) JMM p. 449 (c. 720); — *Binnan* (gen.) BCS 207 (c. 772), *Binnani* principis ib. 264 (792), *Binna* dux ib. 267 (793). The Latinization of *Bynnan* (gen.) BCS 849 (= 264 B) to *Binnani* ib. 264 shows the identity of the two spellings. The genuine form was apparently *Bynna*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ZIMMER, *Neues Archiv d. Ges. f. ält. d. Geschichtsk.* XVI p. 599 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the context that *Beonna*, bishop of Hereford 824—c. 879, is meant; see SEARLE BKN p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> 'Terram vero hanc Offa rex Merciorum tradidit *Bynnan* abavo Wullafi 7 litteris consignavit'.

: *Byrn-*, OE *byrne* 'corslet'? In that case it is parallel to *Beonna* : *Beorn-*; the compounds with *Byrn-* are, however, rare and partly doubtful; see SEARLE p. 23. Possibly a *jan*-derivative from the stem in *Buna*, q. v. STARK p. 25. — Cf. *Byn(n)i*.

**Ceorra** *diaconus* BCS 304 (c. 802).

See *Ceol*. Cf. *Ceorred* *abbas* BCS 432 = *Ceolred* *abbas* ib. 434. STARK p. 124.

**Cud(d)a**<sup>1</sup>: *Cuda* LV 220; *Cudda* ib. 78, 163; *Cudda nobilis* Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 2, Fridegoda, Wilfr. 70 (c. 665); *Cudda* Beda, Cuthb. ch. 37 (c. 670; cf. DCB s. v.). — *Cuda* Sim. Durh. ch. 66 and elsewhere in later chroniclers stands for *Cuda*, q. v.

: *Cūð-*, OE *cūð* 'known, famous'. The spelling *Cuda* in LV probably signifies *Cuða* (MÜLLER p. 30); in *Cudda*, on the other hand, *-dd-* scarcely can be equivalent to *-þþ-*, as is suggested by MÜLLER l. c. but here we are concerned instead with the common hypocoristic suffix *-dda* (cf. Introduction). See GEVENICH p. 36. — MÜLLER's alternative etymology p. 51, OHG *chutôn* 'meditari' ('der Sinnende' p. 139) seems less plausible. — Cf. *Cudd*, *Cuða*, *Cud(d)i*.

[**Cunda** *episcopus* BCS 416 (836).

: *Cund-*, which is probably Celtic. See FORSSNER p. 57, and literature there quoted.]

**Dod(d)a**: *Doda* (or *Dodda*) mon. Grueber p. 198, *Doda* mon. Hildebrand p. 150 (Aethelr. II), *Doda* LVH (c. 1030; quoted from Searle), *Doda*, *Dodo* Ellis, Intr. I p. 405, II pp. 74, 307, DB IV p. 606 (Exon.); cf. *Dod(d)o*, duke of Mercia, DCB s. v. (c. 715); — *Dodda* *monachus* BCS 380 (824), *Dodda* *minister* KCD 764 (1024), *Dodda* Aedelmer ib. 767 (1043), *Dodda* m ib. 770 (1044), 787 (1049), 791 (1050), *Doddo* *princeps* ib. 813 (1062), *Dodda* *æt Curi* ib. 897 (after 1050), *Dodda* *minister* ib. 1332 (1042), *Dodda* *cild* ib. 1334 (1046); *Dodda* *minister* Exeter chart. 11 (1031), *Dodda* *nobilis* ib. 12 (1044), *Dodda* *minister* ib. 13 (1059); *Dodda* LVH (11th cent.; quoted from Searle); *Dodda* mon. Grueber p. 244 (Cnut), *Dodda* (or *Dode*) ib. p. 320 (Harthacnut), *Dodda* mon. Hildebrand pp. 50, 150 (Aethelr. II), 216 (Cnut), 398 (Harthacnut), *Dodda* mon. Holm 360 (Aethelr. II); *Doddus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 307 (OE *Dodd?*), *Doddo* DB IV p. 606 (Exon.). — *Dodda* Geneal. Tib. B V 170 is an error for *Podda*, q. v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note under *Cuða*.



See *Dudd*<sup>1</sup>. — HOLM p. 28.

**Dud(d)a** : *Dudæ* (Lat. gen.) BCS 256 (789), *Dudan*(!) abbas ib. 322 (805), *Duda* ib. 384 (825), *Dudan* ministro ib. 431 (840), *Dudan* principis ib. 454 (848), *Duda* dux ib. 466 (852); *Duda* mon. Keary p. 38 (Mercia, Coenwulf), *Duda* (or *Dudda*) ib. pp. 53, 54, 55 (Mercia, Burgred), *Duda* ib. pp. 68, 69 (Kent, Cuthred), Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand pp. 42, 161 (Aethelr. II); *Duda* ealdorman Chron. 833 E = *Dudda* ib. A; — *Duddan* prepositi BCS 91 (716), *Duddan* pincerni ib. 232 (778—9), *Dudda* ib. 236 (780), *Dudda* dux ib. 395 (826), 396 (830), *Dudda* ib. 406 (833), *Dudda* dux ib. 407 (833), *Duddan* (dat.) ib. 426 (839), *Dudda* dux ib. 428 (before 840), 430, 436 (841), *Dudda* ib. 447 (844), *Dudda* dux ib. 450 (845), *Dudda* minister ib. 495, *Dudda* ib. 496 (858), 497 (859), 507 bis (863), *Dudda* minister ib. 519 (868), *Dudda* ib. 536 (873), 547 (877), 640 (c. 920); *Dudda* gebur KCD 1354 (11th cent.); *Dudda* aldorman Chron. 833 A (cf. above); *Dudda* mon. Keary pp. 53, 54, 55 (cf. above), 87 (East Anglia, Aethelweard), 91 (St. Eadmund), Grueber p. 29 (Aethelr. I).

See *Dudd*, and the preceding name.

**Dycga** presbyter BCS 312 (803).

: *Dycg-*, belonging to OE *dugan* 'to avail, thrive, be strong'. MÜLLER p. 104, F 431, SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words p. 152.

[**Ealla** episcopus BCS 658 (926).

A comparison between the signatories will show that this is the same man as *Aella* episcopus BCS 659. Cf. the spellings *Eabba* = *Aebba*, *Ealle* = *Aelle*.]

**Eama**(?) mon. Keary pp. 25 (Mercia, Offa), 34 (Mercia, Coenwulf); *Eama* Lib. Eliens. II 15 (c. 975; quoted from Searle).

Probably a short form of compounds such as *Eamberht* < *Eanberht* (Index Sax. p. 73). Cf. the following name.

**Ean(n)a**, **Eona** : *Eana* BCS 73 (689; KCD 30 starred); *Eonan*

<sup>1</sup> The compounds with *Dod-* given by SEARLE p. 167 certainly afford no strong reason for placing *Dod(d)a* under A, but it has not been thought suitable to separate this name from *Dud(d)a* and *Dudd*, which may perhaps with a somewhat greater degree of probability be assumed to have originated as short forms of compound names. To prevent misunderstanding I ought perhaps to remind the reader of what has been said in the Introduction: the fact that a name is classified as an A-name by no means indicates that it must be interpreted as a short form. — But for the system of arrangement here adopted, I should not hesitate to characterize all the names belonging to this stem as typical genuine lall - names.

(abl.) Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 14 (c. 660); *Eanna* mon. Keary p. 44 (Mercia, Berhtwulf). *Aena* presbyter BCS 99 (699; KCD 44 starred) is probably the same name; cf. *Aenulf* minister ib. 1268, 1269 = *Eanulf* minister ib. 1266, 1282, etc.

: *Ean-*, possibly representing a Prim. Germ. theme *\*auna-*, which, according to BRUCKNER p. 105, stands in the same relation to Prim. Germ. *\*auda* (see *Eada*) as NHG (Swiss) *frein* to OW Scand. *fríðr* (KLUGE, Stammbildungslehre § 222). See however BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Eanmund'. MÜLLER pp. 13, 104, F 207. — Cf. the preceding name.

**Eat(t)a, Eota** etc.: *Eata*<sup>1</sup> Beda HE III 26, IV 12, 27, 28, V 2, 9, 24, *Eata* Beda, Cuthb. ch. 6, 7, 8, 16, 25; *Eata* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 56, 65, 87, *Eata* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434, 435, 437; *Eatano* abbati Ann. Lind. 664, *Eata* ib. 678, 681, 685; *Eatan* (acc.) Chron. 678 E, *Eata* ib. 738 AE<sup>2</sup>; *Aetan* (acc.), *Eata* Nennius ch. 61; *Eata* LV 256, 329, 356, 361; *Eata* Hagustaldensis episcopus BCS 66 (685), *Eatan* þ (gen.) ib. 183 (c. 757), *Eata* ib. 202 (767)<sup>3</sup>, *Eatan* principis ib. 205 (764—75), *Eata* ib. 208 (772), *Eatan* (nom.) ib. 221 (766; KCD 129 starred), *Eatani* principis 226 (775—8), *Eatan* (gen.) ib. 327 (808); *Aeatan* mon. Hildebrand p. 457 (Eadw. Conf.) is probably an error for *Aestan*; see Grueber p. 329; cf. *Eata*(?) Stephens III p. 210 (700—800); — *Eota* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 55, cf. 'defuncto *Eatan*' ib.; *Eota* LV 205; — *Eatta* Eanferðing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 107, *Eatta* dux BCS 245 (785)<sup>4</sup>.

Short form of compounds with *Ead-*, in which the second member began with a voiceless consonant. MÜLLER pp. 13, 29, 52. — Cf. *Eadu* and the following name.

**Ecca**: *Ecca* BCS 35, 36 (675), 73 (689), 91 (716), 99 (699), *Eccam* (obl., *Eccan* KCD 1001) ib. 145 (c. 725); *Ecca* LV 159. Cf. *Eccam* (acc.) Flor. Worc. 547, *Ecca* ib. p. 238 (præsul. Hereford., c. 752—68; elsewhere called *Acca*, *Hecca*, see SEARLE BKN p. 108).

: *Ecg-*; cf. the preceding name. MÜLLER p. 52, SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words p. 153, Hypocor. suff. p. 138, note 2, FORSSNER p. 64. — Cf. *Ecga*.

<sup>1</sup> For identification see SEARLE BKN p. 235, and DCB II p. 21 f.

<sup>2</sup> 'Her *Eadbryht* Eating, *Eata* Leodwaling, feng to Norþan hymbra rice'. Cf. *Aeffa*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Eada* BCS 203 (770).

<sup>4</sup> *Aette* var.; *Eata* KCD 149 (starred).

**Ed(d)a** : *Eda* LV 239, 427, 478; '*Edwine*, qui et *Eda* dictus est' Sim. Durh. ch. 63 (801); *Eda* mon. Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 72 (Aethelr. II); *Eda* DB IV p. 607 (Exon.); *Edda* rusticus BCS 1212 (968).

See *Eadu*. *Ed-* is due to mutation in forms such as *Eadwine*; see HOLM p. 30 and literature there quoted. — MÜLLER p. 53.

**Ella** mon. Grueber p. 29 (Aethelr. I); *Ella* episcopus BCS 707 (935), evidently the same man as *Aella* episcopus ib. 705, 706; cf. above.

: *Ael(f)-*, *El(f)-*; see, e. g., Grueber p. 509 f. — Cf. *Aella*, (*El*).

**Eoppa, Eappa** etc. : *Eopa* BCS 178 (749); *Eoppa* Oesing, father of Ida<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 80, *Eoppa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435, *Eoppa* Esing, Chron. 547 BC, *Eobba*, *Eubba* Nennius ch. 56, 57, 61, *Eoppæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 547, *Eoppa* ib. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.), *Eoppe* Henry Hunt. 547; *Eoppa* Ingilding, great-grandfather of Ecgbeorht<sup>2</sup>, Sax. Geneal. 4, *Eoppa* Geneal. Tib. B V 173, *Eoppa* Chron. preface A, 855 A, *Eoppa* Asser ch. 1, *Eoppa* Aethelweard 857, *Eoppa* Flor. Worc. p. 256 (geneal. reg. west-sax.); *Eappa* presbyter, Beda HE IV 13, 14 (Transl. p. 417 *Eappa*, *Eoppa*) = *Eoppa* preost, Chron. 656 E, 661<sup>3</sup>, *Eppam* presbyterum Henry Hunt. 661; *Eoppa* presbyter BCS 22 (664), *Eoppa* preost ib. 838 = 22 B (664), *Eoppa* ib. 32 (674), *Eoppa* comes ib. 116 (706), 124 (709), 138 (716--7), *Eoppani* (gen.) ib. 177 (748), *Eoppa* (gen.) ib. 181 (755--7), 185 (758); cf. *Eopfan* (gen.) pŕ BCS 200 (766; KCD 115 starred). — *Eapa* Henry Hunt. 755, *Eoppæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 755, stand for *Eawa*, *Eowa*, q. v.

Possibly a short form of some compound with the rare name-element *Eorp-*, *Earp-*, OE *corp*, *earp* 'dark, dusky, brown, swarthy', for which see TORP, Wortschatz p. 332 'reupôn'. MÜLLER p. 96, F 485, WREDE, Ostg. p. 119 f., BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 32<sup>4</sup>.

**Gud(d)a** : *Guda* presbyter BCS 72 (688), 81 (693), 87 (695); *Gudda* Ellis, Intr. II p. 133 (Cornwall).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 27. — According to HRUSCHKA I p. 38 (SEARLE p. 212), *Eappa* is the same man as *Eadbeorht*, bishop of Selsey c. 712--28, which I am not in a position to verify.

<sup>4</sup> MC CLURE's explanation, British place-names p. 132 f., can scarcely be correct.



See *Guða*. We have here a parallel to *Cuða*: *Cud(d)a*, q. v.<sup>1</sup>

**Had(d)a**: *Hada* LV 258; *Hadda* ib. 159. — *Haddan* abbas Medeshamstede BCS 89 (696; KCD 40 starred), see *Headda*.

This belongs to a large group of names, all of which are probably short forms of compounds with *H(e)aðu-*, OE *h(e)aðu* 'war'<sup>2</sup>. — In the case of *Had(d)a* one might also think of OE *hād* 'person' etc., whereas a connection with OE *heard* 'hard', as CHADWICK suggests, seems less plausible (Studies in OE p. 113, cf. also ib. pp. 123, 176). — MÜLLER pp. 54, 120, F 788, BINZ p. 189. — Cf. *Hædda*, *Headda*, *Hedda*; *Haddi*, *Hæddi*, *Headdi*, *Heddi*; *Haedi*<sup>3</sup>.

**Hædda** episcopus BCS 91 (716)<sup>4</sup>, *Hædda* abbati ib. 133 (708 — 15)<sup>4</sup>, *Hæddam* abbatem ib. 842 = 49 D (c. 680)<sup>5</sup>, *Hædda* biscop Guthlac ch. 17 (the Latin text has *Hedda*), *Haedda* Ags. Min. p. 106 (episc. occ. sax.)<sup>6</sup>.

See the preceding name.

[**Ha**]ra etc.: *Haþra* Hwalaing, Chron. 855 BC (cf. Itermon *Hraþraing* ib. A)<sup>7</sup>, *Hathra* Asser ch. 1, *Haðra* Geneal. Tib. B V 173, *Hathra* qui fuit Wala, Flor. Worc. 849, *Hadra* Will. Malm. ch. 116.

Probably a short form of *H(e)aðuræd*, as BRANDL interprets the name, Archiv CXXXVII p. 17, though OE *heaðorian* 'to shut in, restrain, control' might also be thought of.]

**Headda**: *Headdan* (gen.) BCS 72 (688), *Headda* episcopus ib. 75, 76 (691—2), 82, 85 (693), *Headda* bis ib. 99 (699), *Headda* episcopus ib. 111 (704), 113 (705), *Headdan* presbyteri ib. 183

<sup>1</sup> *Guda* comitissa Ellis, Intr. II p. 133, represents Scand. *Gyða* (Björkman, Pers. p. 59, Namenk. p. 41), and not *Godgifu*, as it is interpreted by SEARLE p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> As regards intelligibility the names in question are evidently not quite on a par. In some cases the association with *h(e)aðu* seems to have been easy enough: if *Hada* is only an early spelling for \**Haða*, it must be regarded as intelligible. On the other hand, a name such as *Headda* is analogous to *Cudda*, *Gudda*, and since, moreover, especially in this group great confusion prevails in the spellings, it has been thought best to give the whole group here.

<sup>3</sup> *Had(d)*, *Hað*, *Hadder* dux, which is found in charters from c. 930, is Scand., according to Björkman, Pers. p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Hedda* Haddan-Stubbs III p. 300, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. in the same charter: 'ita ut eidem abbati prædicto *Hedda*'...

<sup>6</sup> For identification see DCB II pp. 847, 873, SEARLE s. v., and SEARLE BKN p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> The form *Hrawra* SEARLE BKN p. 251, must be due to a misreading.

(c. 757), *Headda* abbas ib. 187 (759), *Headda* ib. 218 (757—75), *Headda* presbiter et abbas ib. 283 (781—98), *Headda* pr' ib. 400 (831), *Headda* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 36 (episc. merc.), *Headda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 432, *Headda* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 50 (episc. uest. r.), *Headda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433 (*Ceadda* Geneal. Tib. B V 170); *Headda* abb Chron. 963 E<sup>1</sup>.

See *Had(d)a*.

**Hedda** : *Hedda* BCS 37 (675), *Hedda* episcopus ib. 43 (676), 72 (688), 112 (705), *Hedda* abbas de Medeshamsted ib. 409 (833), 521 (868); *Hedda* abbas Bredun ib. 841, 842, 843 = 49 CDE (c. 680); *Heddae* episcopo Occid. Sax. BL 3 (676—705).

See *Had(d)a*. *Hedda* is perhaps originally a mutated form; see *Edda*. — Cf. *Hebba*.

**Hidda** LV 274.

See *Hild*. MÜLLER p. 55, STARK p. 21.

**Hun(n)a** : *Huna* Lib. Eliens. (c. 660; quoted from Searle), *Huna* LV 160, *Huna* (acc.)<sup>2</sup> BCS 1245 (c. 970), *Huna* Vita Oswaldi p. 454 (end of 10th cent.), *Huna* (or *Hunnu*) mon. Grueber p. 246 (Cnut), *Huna* mon. Hildebrand p. 284, *Huna* KCD 981 (11th cent.), *Huna* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 150, 151 (Suff.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 70)<sup>3</sup>; — *Hunna* mon. Grueber pp. 246 (cf. above), 303 (Harold I), 320 (Harthaenut); Hildebrand pp. 284 (Cnut), 346, 365 (Harold I), 403 (Harthaenut); Holm 626 (Harold I).

See *Hun*.

**Imma** Beda HE IV 22, *Imma* LV 202.

See *Immin*.

**Inga** mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan). *Inca* mon. Keary p. 46 (Mercia, Burgred) is probably the same name. Cf. *Ing* Runic Poem 67 (DICKINS p. 20).

: *Ing-*, for which see SCHÖNFELD p. 147, where numerous references are given. Cf. also MÜLLER p. 106, F 959, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 71 f., Namenk. p. 48 f., Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Ingeld', 'Ingwine'. — Cf. *Ingui*, *Inguc*.

**Lud(d)a** : *Luda* BCS 551 (883); *Luda* (or *Lude*) mon. Grueber

<sup>1</sup> 'Syððon com se biscop Aðelwold to þære mynstre þe wæs gehaten Medeshamstede, ðe hwilon wæs fordon fra heðene folce .ne fand þær nan þing buton ealde weallas 7 wilde wuda .fand þa hidde in þa ealde wealle writes þet *Headda* abb heafde ær gewriton', . . .

<sup>2</sup> Nom. *Hunu*, fem.?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Huna* FREEMAN NC I p. 344, note 2.

p. 32 (Aelfred), *Luda*, (*Ludia* or) *Ludda* ib. p. 200, Hildebrand pp. 54, 55, *Luda* Grueber p. 213, Holm 64, 65 (Aethelr. II). — *Luda* Geneal. Tib. B V 170 is an error for *Tuda*, q. v.

: *Hlud-*, *Lud-*<sup>1</sup>; see HOLM p. 52, FORSSNER p. 153 and literature there quoted. — Cf. *Lude*, *Ludica*, *Ludig*, (*Ludia*)<sup>2</sup>.

[\**Mala* : Goisfridus (!) filius *Malæ* Ellis, Intr. II p. 329.

See *Mal(f)*.]

[*Mata* KCD 329 (901; starred); — *Matan* mon. Grueber p. 246 (Cnut) stands for *Mateðan* ib.; see HOLM p. 54.

Probably a mistake for *Tata*, as BCS 585 reads; cf. however FORSSNER p. 188.]

*Merra* mon. Montagu I p. 611 (Aethelstan; quoted from Searle p. 568).

: *Mere-*, OE *mære*, *mære* 'famous', or possibly OE *mere* 'sea'. F 1099, SCHÖNFELD p. 167. — Cf. *Mere*.

[\**Nana* mon. Eadgar, given by SEARLE p. 569, is deduced from the gen. *Nanan* (Montagu I p. 741, the same as?) Grueber p. 183. This, however, merely stands for *Man(n)a(n)* ib., just as *Nansige* Grueber p. 123 seems to be the same as *Mansige* ib. p. 246. Thus the names in *Nan-* (*Nand-*) mentioned by SCHÖNFELD p. 170 are not to be taken into account here.]

*Nunna* etc. : *Nunna* rex Suðsaxonum BCS 78 (692), *Numa* rex ib. 80 (c. 693), *Numa* rex Suðsaxonum ib. 132 (714), 144, 145 (725), *Nunna* Chron. 710 BC (cf. *Nun* ib. AE), *Nunna* Aethelweard 710.

Probably a short form of *Noðhelm*. BCS 78, which has *Nunna* first among the witnesses, begins thus: 'Ego *Noðelmus* rex Suðsaxonum'. *Nunna* is, however, scarcely to be compared with *Eda*: *Edwine* and similar pairs; *Nunna* is a lall-name, and its use as a short form of *Noðhelm* may simply be due to the initial *N-*. According to STUBBS (DCB II p. 5), all charters concerning King *Nunna* of Sussex are "of uncertain date and questionable authenticity". Cf. also DCB IV pp. 54, 160, SEARLE BKN p. 271. — Cf. *Nun*, *Nunnae* f.

[*Od(d)a* etc. This name has been discussed by BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 99 f., FORSSNER p. 198 f., and it seems most likely that the latter is right in his assumption that "it has perhaps in all in-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ludhere* BCS 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Loda* mon. Grueber p. 300 (Cnut) seems to be an error for *Goda*; cf. ib. p. 246.



stances been introduced from abroad", though the possibility that it may in some cases be a short form of compounds with *Ord-* (cf. *Orda*) is of course not altogether excluded. This view is held by KEMBLE, Names p. 98, SEARLE p. XIX, and, lately, by EKWALL, *Namn och Bygd* 1918 p. 175.]

**Penda**: *Penda*, *Pendam* (acc.) Beda HE II 20, *Pendan* (gen.) ib. III 7, *Penda* ib. III 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, V 24; *Penda* Chron. 626, 628, 633 E, 641 E, 644 E, 652 E, 654 E, 655 A, 658; *Penda* Pypbing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 91, *Penda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436, 437, *Penda* List of Kings 7; *Penda* Ann. Wint. 626, 639; *Penda* Ann. Lind. 633, 642, 653, 655; *Penda* Nennius ch. 60, 65, *Pantha* ib. ch. 60, 64; *Pantha* (var. *Pendæ*) Ann. Cambriæ 657; *Pendan* (nom.) Alcuin, Versus 518, 550; *Penda* Aethelweard 629, 655, 661, 670, 704; Cheolredus Aedelredi *Pende* filius BCS 127 (710); *Penda* Aelfric LS II p. 134<sup>1</sup>.

: *Pend-*; etymological suggestions by HELLWIG p. 38, MÜLLER p. 107.

**Rada** 'liber homo Heroldi' Ellis, Intr. II p. 202 (Suff.).

Doubtful. Either OG *Rādo*, *Rāto*: *Rād-*, *Rāt-* (F 1203, BRUCKNER p. 291, FORSSNER p. 205), or an OE equivalent \**Rāda*: *Rād-* (OE *rād* 'advice', MÜLLER p. 114). It may also be a short form — coined on English soil — of some compound with Cont. - Germ. *Rād-*, or with Scand. *Rād-* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 108). The latter alternative is perhaps most plausible. — Cf. *Rædel*.

**Saba**, **Sæba** Beda HE II 5<sup>2</sup>.

The text shows that this is a short form of *Sæberht* (OE *sæ* 'sea, lake' + *be(o)rht* 'bright'). It is noteworthy that this short name also contains part of the second member. KEMBLE, Names p. 97, STARK p. 104, Germania XI p. 512; MÜLLER p. 90, F 1312

[**Swafa** is probably Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 134, Namenk. p. 81. Cf. also OE compounds with *Swæf-*, from OE *Swāfas*, *Swāfe* 'the Swabians', of the same origin and meaning as the Scand. name; F 1373, SCHÖNFELD p. 215.]

<sup>1</sup> All the instances recorded refer to *Penda*, king of Mercia 626—c. 655. — BCS 635, given in Index Sax., has *Pendes clif* (ME).

<sup>2</sup> "Auxit autem procellam huiusce perturbationis etiam mors *Sabercti* (var. *Sæberhti*; Transl. p. 134 *Sæberhtes*, *Sæbryhtes*) regis Orientalium Saxonum, . . . 'Quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro *Saba*' (var. *Sæba*; Transl. p. 134 *Sabane*, *Saban*) sic namque eum appellare consueant, 'dabas, . . .'" Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 274.

**Tæbba** abbas BCS 77 (692; KCD 34 starred).

According to STARK p. 123 a short form of "*Tætberht* (i. e. *Tâtberht*) Liber Vitæ 10 = OHG *Zeizperht*". LVD p. 10 has, however, *Tatberct*, where *a* is probably long (cf. *Tata*). Perhaps we are concerned with an early hypocoristic formation from compounds such as *Tâtberht*, which, if regularly developed, would remain as *\*Tabba* in OE, but by analogy with OE *lappa* ~ *læppa* (WRIGHT, OE Grammar § 57) it might also result in a form *Tæbba*. — If a name *\*Tætwine* ever occurred (see the following name), one may venture to assume that this mutated *\*Tæt-* was subsequently transferred even to names without an *i* in the second member (cf. *Eda*). Then *Tæbba* might have been formed directly from a name such as *\*Tætberht*. — Further we have perhaps also to take into account the possible existence of a short stem *\*tata-*, OE *\*tæt-*. And, finally, *Tæbba* may be nothing but a bad spelling in a spurious document.

[**Tætwa** etc. : *Tætwa* Chron. 855<sup>1</sup>, *Tætuna* Asser ch. 1, *Tetuna* Aethelweard 857; cf. *Tetius* Will. Malm. ch. 116, *Cetwa* Flor. Worc. p. 247, Sim. Durh. ch. 66.

Is this really shortened from *Tætwine*, just as *Saba* from *Sæberht*, representing "eine ältere Technik des Kürzens", as BRANDL suggests (Archiv CXXXVII p. 16), or is it to be explained in a different way? See BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 150, note 1. — Cf. *Tata* and the preceding name.]

**Tib(b)a** : *Tiba* clericus BCS 304 (c. 802); *Tibba* abbas Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 63 (c. 700).

A short form of compounds such as *Tilbeorht*<sup>2</sup>; see SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words p. 166, STARK p. 121 f. — Cf. *Tila*, *Tibba* f.

**Tot(t)a** : *Tota* BCS 208 (772), *Tota* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 13 (episc. austr. sax.)<sup>3</sup>, *Tota* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431 (*Iota* Geneal. Tib. B V 169), *Tota* episcopus Alcuin, Epistolæ 3 (786) = *Tora* BCS 250; — *Totta* episcopus BCS 32 (674?), 174 (747)<sup>4</sup>, *Totta* antistes ib. 183 (c. 757), *Tottan* episcopi ib. 188 (759—64), *Totta*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Tiba* is perhaps only a scribal error for *Tida*; cf. *Tidan* (gen.) BCS 307 (c. 802).

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Selsey c. 785—9; SEARLE BKN p. 56. In Will. Malm. Gesta Pontif. ch. 96 his name is written *Totta*.

<sup>4</sup> Bishop of Leicester 737—64. Called *Torhthelm* episcopus e. g. BCS 165 (c. 743), 178 (749). Cf. DCB IV p. 1037, SEARLE BKN p. 142.

Geneal. Vesp. B VI 39 (episc. merc.) = *Torhthelm* (!) Geneal. Corp. Chr. 432; *Totta* LV 345.

It is difficult to ascertain whether *Tota* and *Totta* are two separate names or not; they are perhaps not etymologically related at all. "*Totta* is a familiar abbreviation for *Torhthelm*" (STUBBS, DCB l. c.; cf. KEMBLE, Names p. 97, STARK p. 26). *Tota*, on the other hand, SKEAT interprets as 'a spy, or look-out man' (Place-names of Bedfordshire p. 32), that is, he connects it with the OE verb *tōtian* 'to peep out, stick out', which belongs to a stem cognate with that of *Tutta*, q. v. If this is correct, *Tota* is of course not to be coupled with *Totta* (: *Torht*-, OE *torht* 'bright')<sup>1</sup>; it ought instead to be placed among the intelligible *B*-names. See further MÜLLER pp. 60, 98, F 1396, WREDE, Ostg. p. 135, SOCIN p. 195, SCHÖNFELD p. 241, HOLDER II 1895 f. — Cf. *Tottel*.

[**Tud(d)a** : *Tuda*<sup>2</sup> Beda HE III 26, 27, 28, *Tuda* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 53 (episc. nordh.), *Tuda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434 (*Luda* Geneal. Tib. B V 170), *Tuda* Ann. Lind. 664, *Tuda* episcopus BCS 22 (664; KCD 984 starred), *Tuda* biscop ib. 838 = 22 B, *Tuda* biscop Chron. 656 E, 664 E; *Tuda* LV 231, *Tuda* presbyter BCS 312 (803), *Tuda* mon. Grueber p. 84 (Eadw. the Elder); — *Tudda* LV 336, *Tudda* presbyter BCS 332 (811), 342 (813), 381 (824), 384 (825); *Tuddan* (!) princeps ib. 457 (850).

SWEET in his edition of LV (OET) marks *Tuda* as Celtic, the reason for which is obviously the fact that Bishop *Tuda* was an Irishman, 'apud Scottos austrinos eruditus', as Bede's words run (HE III 26). Yet HOLDER II 1979 only hesitatingly includes *Tuda*, but as, in addition, two Welsh names *Tudno* and *Tudwal* are given in DCB IV p. 1056, it will be safest to assume that *Tuda* is a short form of such Celtic compounds, perhaps coined by the Anglo-Saxons<sup>3</sup>. As HELLWIG p. 10 points out, *Tudda* is probably an ordinary geminated form and is not to be differentiated from *Tuda*, as SWEET does l. c. — For possible Germanic etymons, see STARK p. 82, MÜLLER p. 60. — Cf. *Tuddul*, *Tydi*, *Tuduna*<sup>4</sup>.]

<sup>1</sup> Besides, though *Totta* was used as a short form of *Torhthelm* it might originally have belonged to the *Tutta*-group as well.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Lindisfarne; cf. SEARLE BKN p. 180, DCB IV p. 1056.

<sup>3</sup> Is *Tudwine* mon. Keary p. 84 (East Anglia, Aethelstan), 88 (Aethelweard) a genuine OE compound, or a hybrid formation? Or two names, *Tuda* + *Wine*?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. OSwed. *Tudde* (LUNDGREN). To explain this isolated instance we need not have recourse to a Celtic (Irish?) loan, or more or less obscure Ger-



**Tum(m)a** : *Tuma* Vita Anon. Cuthb. §§ 4, 30 (c. 680; quoted from PLUMMER, Beda HE II p. 268); *Tuma* mon. Grueber p. 169 (Eadgar); *Tumma* LV 228.

According to PLUMMER l. c., *Tuma* in Vita Anon. Cuthb. stands for *Trumwine* (OE *trum* 'firm, strong'), thus a short name formed in quite an extraordinary way, indicating beyond all doubt the nursery. In the other cases *Tum(m)a* perhaps belongs to compounds such as *Tumberctus* ~ *Tunberhtus* Beda HE I p. 389. Cf. Scand. *Tum(m)i*, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 146. — MÜLLER pp. 60, 98, STARK p. 124, HOLDER II 1985.

**Uda** : *Uda* BCS 194 (759—65)<sup>1</sup>, *Udan* (gen.) ib. 196 (765), 242 (781), 260 (765—91); *Uda* LV 345.

Corresponding to OG *Uto* etc. F 1472, *Uāa* seems to be a secondary stem. The early instances above have presumably not originated as short forms of such late compounds as *Udebrun*, *Udeman* Ellis, Intr. II p. 248; that, in spite of this, *Uda* has been given under *A* is only in conformity with the system of arrangement. MÜLLER p. 61. — Cf. *Udi*.

**Una** LV 214.

: *Un-*, the negative or pejorative prefix *un-*, or related to OE *unnan* 'grant, allow'? MÜLLER p. 61, F 1477, HOLDER III 29, MACBAIN, Etym. Dict. p. 412.

**Waga** : *Wagæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 627, *Waga* ib. p. 251 (geneal. reg. merc.); *Waga* Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

: *Wæg-*, OE *wæg* 'wave'. F 1487, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Wægmund'.

**Wecta**, **Wihta** etc. : *Wecta* abbas BCS 116, 118 (706). The other instances are found in the Kentish pedigree: *Uecta* cujus pater Uoden Beda HE I 15 (*Wihta* Transl. p. 42), *Wecta* Wodning Chron. 449 E, *Guectha* Nennius ch. 31, *Unicta* Aethelweard 449, 596<sup>2</sup>.

For the explanation of this name both OE compounds with *Wiht-* (OE *wiht* 'wight, person, creature') and Celtic compounds

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manic stems: it might be — and probably is — a kind of lall - formation, which has arisen quite independently of its Celtic - OE equivalent.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately after this follows *Puda*. Cf. the pair *Snocca(n)*, *Mocca(n)* BCS 72. The Anglo-Saxons seem to have regarded such names as rather humorous.

<sup>2</sup> HACKENBERG p. 91 also gives the spellings *Guigta*, *Guitta*, *Gurgta*, *Guicta*, *Wicta*, *Guecta*, *Guetta*, *Gueta*, *Guechta*. Sat sapienti.

with *Vect-* (HOLDER III 132 ff., STOKES p. 266) are to be taken into account. See F 1590, SCHÖNFELD p. 262, HOLM p. 68, STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 37, STARK pp. 18, 110, BRUCKNER p. 320, MÜLLER p. 91. — Cf. *Wiht*; *Witta*.

**Wuffa** : *Uuffa* Beda HE II 15<sup>1</sup> (*Wuffa* Transl. p. 175), *Wuffa* Wehing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 119 (Eostengla), *Wuffa* Webbing, Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Guffan* (acc.) Nennius ch. 59.

See *Wulf*.

## B.

### a. Intelligible.

**Belga** (or *Belge*) mon. Grueber p. 101 (Aethelstan).

Apparently belonging to OE *belg* 'bag, purse', or *belgan* 'to be or become angry', but perhaps more likely not native. Cf. Celtic *Belgae*, *Belgius* (HOLDER s. v.), and OWScand. *belgr* as a byname JÓNSSON p. 290, KAHLE p. 201, O Dan. (?) *Belgi* (NIELSEN).

**Biga** Ellis, Intr. II p. 49.

In all probability this is an early instance of ME *big* 'strong, stout, mighty', which is also recorded as a byname in OE : Aegelric *Bygga*, *Bicga* KCD 789 etc.; cf. Crawf. chart. p. 149 f., BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loanwords p. 157 note 1, 259.

[**Boia**, **Boga** etc. See FORSSNER pp. 51, 282, 286 and literature there quoted. Cf. also HOLM p. 18, BUGGE, Vesterl. indfl. p. 296 f., SCHÖNFELD p. 52, BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 149, note 2, RITTER, Anglia XXXIII p. 472 f.]

**Borda** Ellis, Intr. II p. 51.

: OE *bord* 'board, plank; table, ship, shield'. F 328.

**Brada** : *Bradani* principis BCS 235 (780)<sup>2</sup>, *Brada* ib. 307 (c. 802), *Brada* presbyter ib. 379 (824), 386 (825); *Brada* LV 471; *Brada* gebur KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

: OE *brād* 'broad'. Cf. Scand. *Breidr*, *Bredh*, *Breth* (LIND, LUNDGREN, NIELSEN), and as a byname JÓNSSON p. 227, KAHLE p. 177. — MÜLLER p. 48, F 1332.

<sup>1</sup> 'Erat autem praefatus rex Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis, filius Tytili, cuius pater fuit *Uuffa*, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum *Uuffingas* appellant'. Cf. OMAN p. 228, SEARLE BKN p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> 'Unquestionably spurious' STUBBS, DCB IV p. 1027.

**Broga** : *Brogan* (gen.) BCS 183 (c. 757), *Broga* ib. 218 (757—75).

: OE *brōga* 'terror, dread, danger'? Perhaps Celtic; both charters are from Worcestershire. Cf. HOLDER I 619 ff.

**Buc(c)a** : *Bucan comiti* BCS 146 (727?); *Bucca Dux* ib. 550 (882).

: OE *bucca* 'buck'. Probably an original byname; cf. Godwig se *Bucca* KCD 936 (c. 1055). In Scandinavia *bukkr* was a common byname (JÓNSSON p. 306, KAHLE p. 231). It is, however, also possible that *Bucca* is of Celtic origin (STARK p. 24, HOLDER I 626), but in that case the corresponding Celtic word has the same meaning as the Germanic one (STOKES p. 179, ZUPITZA, K. Z. XXXII p. 235). KEMBLE, Names p. 101, F 343, SCHÖNFELD p. 55, BJÖRKMAN, Anglia Beibl. 1918 p. 239, MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 235. — For *Buca*, see note under *Bad(d)a*.

**Bud(d)a** : *Buda* presbyter BCS 72 (688; KCD 994 starred); *Buddan* (gen.) ib. 189 (761?), *Budda* presbyter KCD 981 (c. 970); *Budda* LVH (11th cent.; quoted from Searle).

: OE *budda* 'beetle', and cognate words. Cf. Scand. *Budde* (LIND, LUNDGREN), and the byname Brihtmerus *Budde*, peasant, Lib. Eliens. II 25 (c. 1025; quoted from Searle p. 91). On the etymology of this group see v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna p. 89 ff., BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 259, HELLQUIST, Xen. Lid. p. 87.

**Buga** BCS 557 (888), *Buga* minister ib. 595 (901), 601 (903), 604, 610, 611, 612, 613 (904), 623, 624, 625, 627, 628, 629 (909), 635 (921), 663 (928), 677 (931), 690, 692 (932), 695, 696 (933), 740 (939), 1343 = 669 B (930)<sup>1</sup>. [*Buga* mon. Grueber pp. 61 (Aelfred), 89, 98 (Eadw. the Elder) is probably the same as *Boga* ib.]

From the stem in OE *būgan* 'to bow', *boga* 'bow'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 273, F 343. — Cf. *Buge*.

**Cnapa** : *C(e)napa* mon. Grueber p. 101 (Aethelstan), *Cnapa* ib. pp. 129 (Eadmund), 173 (Eadgar).

: OE *cnapa* 'child, youth, servant'. Cf. Scand. *Knape*, which is also found in England : *Cnapees* (gen.) mon. Grueber pp. 162 (Eadwig), *Cnape* ib. 178 (Eadgar), 196 (Eadweard II). *Cnapa* Grueber p. 173 and *Cnape* ib. 196 both hail from Stamford, and it seems very likely that they refer to the same man; *Cnapa* is

<sup>1</sup> Index Sax. also gives *Bucga* BCS 102, which has *Bucgan oran*. — Cf. *Bucge*, -a f.



perhaps only an Anglicized form of the Scand. name. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 55, *Anglia Beibl.* 1917 p. 230, ZACHRISSON, *Stud. i mod. språkv.* VI p. 277.

**Coppa** DB IV p. 624 (Winton.).

: OE *copp* 'top, summit'. Evidently an original nickname; cf. ib. Eduin *Coppa*, and Alestanus *Coppede*, related to OE *copped* 'polled, lopped'(?). See MIDDENDORFF p. 29, NED 'cop, copped'.

**Cyma** : *Cyma* minister BCS 468, 469, *Kyma* minister ib. 470, *Cyma* minister ib. 475, 476 (854), *Cyma* abbas ib. 511 (860—5), *Cyma* ib. 531 (871), *Cyma* minister ib. 1308 (c. 975).<sup>1</sup>

: OE *cȳme* 'comely, lovely, glorious, splendid'. — Cf. *Cymmi*.

**Dealla** etc. : *Dealla* mon. Keary p. 35 (Mercia, Coenwulf), Grueber pp. 23 (Aethelbeorht), 28 (Aethelr. I), 65 (Aelfred); *Diala* mon. Keary p. 75 (Canterbury, Ceolnoth); *Dela* mon. Keary p. 52 (Mercia, Burgred), Grueber p. 65 (Aelfred).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *deall* 'proud, exulting, bold, renowned'. Cf. OW Scand. *Dalla* (LIND 197), *Heimdallr*, *Dellingr*. F 399. — Cf. *Dealing*.

**Demma** LV 94.

: OE *dem* 'damage, injury'. SWEET (RHYS) marks the name as Celtic (cf. HOLDER I 1264), but, as is shown by HELLWIG p. 9, it may just as well be of Germanic origin. MÜLLER p. 52; STARK p. 124.

**Dola** BCS 1247 (c. 970).

See *Dolo*.

**Esa, Oesa** : *Esa* Inguing,<sup>3</sup> grandfather of Ida, Chron. 547 BC, Flor. Worc. 547 = *Oesa* Eðilberhting, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 80, *Oesa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435 (*Eosa* Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Oesa* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.) = *Ossa* Nennius ch. 57; *Oesa* vel Oisc Flor. Worc. p. 248 (geneal. reg. cantwar.); cf. HACKENBERG p. 109 ff., OMAN p. 241.

A mutated form of *Osa*, q. v.<sup>4</sup> No native compounds with *Es-* are on record; cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* pp. 10, 37, note 1.

**Fronca** LV 53.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note under *Hwita*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dealwino*, *Dealbwino* (dat.) JMM p. 214, *Dalhuno* (dat.) MIGNE, *Patr. Lat.* 96, p. 821. Rather doubtful. Cf. DCB I p. 793.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> It may be doubted whether this is really an intelligible name; the reason why it has been placed here is of course the presence of the gen. pl. *ēsa*. Cf. BOSW.-TOLL. *ōs*.

: OE *franca* 'lance, javelin', or *Franca* 'the Franks'. MÜLLER pp. 54, 139, FORSSNER p. 92, F 515, SCHÖNFELD p. 91, MUCH, Hoops Reallex. II p. 83.

**Gota** mon. Grueber pp. 117 (Aethelstan), 132 (Eadmund); *Gota* minister BCS 1266 (970).

: OE *gota* 'Goth'. Not found as an element in OE compound names; see FORSSNER p. 75, note 2. Cf. also BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 50, E. St. LI p. 171, ZACHRISSON ib. L p. 350.<sup>1</sup>

**Hac(e)a** : *Haca*, *Hacca* DB IV p. 608 (Exon.).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *haca* 'hook'. Scand. *Hake* has a similar origin; see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 43. — Cf. *Hooc*, *H(a)ecci*.

\***Hæleþa** : 'æt *Hæleþan* þā þegene' KCD 773 (1044).<sup>3</sup>

: OE *hæleþ* 'man, hero, fighter'. F 740, FORSSNER p. 146.

**Hærra** mon. Grueber pp. 309 (Harold I), 320 (Harthacnut), Hildebrand pp. 346 (Harold I), 398 (Harthacnut).

: OE *hearra*, *hærra* etc. 'lord, master'. Cf. Alured *Herra* DB IV p. 626 (Winton.).

**Hana** : '*Hana*, *Hanen* etc.' mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund).

: OE *hana* 'cock'?<sup>4</sup> According to BUGGE, Vesterland. indfl. p. 207 = OIcel. *Hani* or *Haninn*, which also occurs as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 308). F 746, MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 238. — Cf. *Honoc*.

[**Hebba** abbas de Medeshamsted BCS 461 (851).

Apparently from OE *hebban* 'heave, raise, lift', but KCD 265 has *Hedda*, which is no doubt the true reading.]

**Hemma** LV 94, 100, *Hemma* BCS 519 (868).

: OE *hemman* 'stop up, close'? MÜLLER p. 55, F 743, BINZ p. 172. — Cf. *Hemmi*, *Hemele*, *Hemming*.

**Hocca** grafio<sup>5</sup> BCS 4, *Hocca* comes ib. 5, 6 (605; KCD 2, 3, 4 starred).

See *Hooc*. — Celtic, according to STARK p. 3.

**Hoga** Ellis, Intr. II p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> For *Gotra* Ellis, Intr. II p. 131, see BJÖRKMAN's suggestion Pers. p. 50, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hacca* episcopus BCS 118 (706; KCD 58 starred) is the same man as *Acca*, bishop of Hexham c. 709–32; see DGB I p. 6. II p. 834, SEARLE BKN pp. 176, 224.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Aelethe* princeps BCS 427 (839). Nom. \**Hæleþ*?

<sup>4</sup> *Hangrim* is probably = *Arngrim*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Graphio* comes BCS 5, 6, which must be due to a misunderstanding; see DU CANGE, s. v. Cf. also STARK p. 3, STEVENSON, Asser p. 191 f.

: OE *hoga* 'careful, prudent'.

**Hors(a)** : *Horsa* Beda HE I 15, *Horsa* Chron. 448 F, 449, 455, *Hors*, *Horsa* Nennius ch. 31, 43, *Horsa* Aethelweard 449, 455, 787, 800, *Horsan* (acc.) Aelfric LS I p. 422, *Hors* Flor. Worc. 450 etc.

: OE *hors* 'horse'. See CHADWICK, Origin p. 45, HACKENBERG p. 93; MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 240. Cf. *Hengist*.

**Hunta** BCS 218 (757—75), *Hunta* Ellis, Intr. II p. 151.

: OE *hunta* 'hunter', or possibly a short form of compounds with *Hund-*, OE *hund* 'hound, dog'. F 928. — Cf. *Huntael*.

**Hus(s)a** : *Husa* episcopus<sup>1</sup> BCS 416 (836); *Hussa* List of Kings 4, *Hussa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436 (*Fussa* Geneal. Tib. B V 172), *Hussa* fil. Idae, Ann. Lind. 569, *Hussa* Nennius ch. 63; Hering *Hussan* sunu Chron. 603 E; *Hussa* mon. Keary pp. 61, 62 (Mercia, Burgred), Grueber p. 27 (Aethelred I).

: OE *hūs* 'house'. No certain compounds are recorded in OE; see HOLM p. 45, F 936, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 70. — Cf. *Hyssa*, *Hysca*.

**Nytta** LV 209.

: OE *nytt* 'useful, beneficial'. MÜLLER p. 57.

**Octa** etc. : *Octa* Beda HE II 5<sup>2</sup> (Transl. p. 132 *Octa*), *Oetha* Nennius ch. 38, 56, 58, *Oetha* Aethelweard 596, *Octa* Flor. Worc. 616, Sim. Durh. 616, Henry Hunt. II 40, *Oht* Will. Malm. ch. 8, *Ohtam* (acc.) ib. ch. 44.

: OE *ōht* 'persecution, fear (?)', *ēhtan* 'to persecute'. Native compounds with *Oht-* (< Prim. Germ. \**Anhtu-*) are not recorded in OE; cf. Scand. *Ohter* etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 104, Namenk. p. 64, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Ohthere'). On the spelling *et*, *eht* for *ht* see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 221, anm. 1. — F 43.

**Plucca** LV 199.

: OE *pluccian* 'to pluck, tear'. MÜLLER pp. 58, 139 ('der Vernichter'), HELLWIG p. 11, BINZ, Litbl. 1893 p. 161.

**Pohha, Pohta** : *Pohta* BCS 91 (716) = *Pohha* Haddan-Stubbs III p. 301 (the same charter).

: OE *pohha* 'pocket, bag'? If this etymology is right, *Pohta* is simply a bad spelling, but the state of affairs may, of course, also be the reverse : the scribe did not understand *Pohta* and

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Dunwich or Elmham; SEARLE BKN p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> 'Erat autem idem Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cujus pater *Octa*, cujus pater Oeric cognomento Oise,'... Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 258.



interpreted it as the more intelligible *Pohha*. Cf. the following name.

**Pusa** abbot Chron. 777 E, *Pusa* abbas BCS 275 (c. 796).

: OE *pusa* 'bag, scrip'? Perhaps Celtic; see HOLDER II 1054. Cf. the preceding name.

**\*Ridda** : *Riddan* ministro BCS 209, 210 (772).

: OE *ridda* 'rider, horseman'. F 1272.

[**See(a)ldwa** etc. : *Sceldwea*<sup>1</sup> Chron. 855 A, 854 G, *Scyldwa* ib. 855 B, *Scealdhwa* ib. 855 D, *Scealdwa* ib. 856 C; *Sceldwea* Asser ch. 1, *Scealwa* Geneal. Tib. B V 173, *Sceldwea* Flor. Worc. 849, *Sceadwala* ib. p. 247.

The name is probably corrupt. In any case it must be connected with OE *sceld*, *scyld* etc.; see *Scyld*. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 150, note 1, BRANDL, Archiv CXXXVII p. 16.]

**Sceua** Ellis, Intr. II p. 210. Cf. *Sceafa*, king of the Lombards, Widsith 32.

If the diphthong *ea* is really long, the name is to be connected with *Scē(a)f*, q. v. (BINZ p. 149, CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 201, BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 189); otherwise it belongs to OE *sceafan* 'to shave, scrape, polish' (HOLTHAUSEN, Beowulf II p. 177).

**Sib(b)a** : *Siba* BCS 91 (716), *Siba* mon. Grueber p. 201, Hildebrand p. 164 (Aethelr. II); *Sibba* episcopus<sup>2</sup> BCS 343 (814), 357 (816), *Sibbano* episcopo Orientalium Anglorum ib. 358 (816), *Sibba* ib. 610 (904; KCD 1083 starred), *Sibba* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434.

Probably an original short name, though compounds with *Sibb*- (OE *sibb* 'relationship') are not recorded in OE. *Siba* mon. is perhaps a short form of *Si(ge)boda* (FORSSNER p. 225). F 1314, WREDE, Ostg. p. 130, SCHÖNFELD p. 203. — Cf. *Sib(b)i*.

**Smala** mon. Grueber p. 121 (Aethelstan), *Smala* BCS 1247 (c. 970); *Smalo* Ellis, Intr. II p. 118.

: OE *smæl* 'small'.

**Snella** LV 165, 209.

See *Snell*. — MÜLLER p. 59.

**Sola** LV 288, *Sola*, (*Solus*) DB IV p. 711.

See *Sol*.

**Steapa** Lib. Eliens. (c. 975; quoted from Searle).

: OE *stēap* 'steep, deep, high, lofty'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Elmham c. 810—20; SEARLE BKN p. 46.

\***Steorra** : 'æt *Steorran* þæs kinges rædesmann' KCD 758 (1038).

: OE *steorra* 'star'. Cf. OW Scand. *stjarna* as a byname, RYGH p. 63, JÓNSSON pp. 224, 292.

**Stric(c)a** : *Strica* BCS 591 (901—24), *Stricca* minister ib. 611 (904).

: OE *strican* 'to pass lightly over the surface, stroke, rub, wipe : move, go, run'. OE *strica* is recorded in the sense of 'stroke, line, mark'; the name is perhaps more probably connected with the signification 'move, go, run'. Cf. also *gestric* 'plague, strife, sedition'. — Cf. *Stric*.

**Su(c)ga** : *Suga* Ellis, Intr. II p. 233; *Sucga* presbiter BCS 379 (824), *Sugga* DB IV p. 620 (Inq. Eliens.).

: OE *sucga* 'a kind of bird, titlark? wagtail?' According to NED the word is connected with OE *sūgan* 'suck'.

**Swesa** minister KCD 729 (1019).

: OE *swæs*, *swēs* 'dear, beloved'.

\***Sweða** : *Sweðan* (gen.?) mon. Grueber p. 333 (Eadw. Conf.).

: OE (*be*)*swēðian* 'to swathe, wrap up, wind round'? Doubtful.

**Syla** DB IV p. 620 (Inq. Eliens.).

: OE *sȳla* 'ploughman' (*sulh*), or perhaps *sylla* 'giver' (*sellan*, *syllan*).

**Tella** LV 98, 100, 334.

: OE *tellan* 'tell, estimate'? Cf. also OE *getæl* 'swift, ready', for which see FEIST, Etym. Wb. 'talzjan'. MÜLLER p. 59. — Cf. *Tela* f., *Telia*.

[\***Treda** : *Tredan* abbatis BCS 232 (778—9; KCD 148 starred).

Probably an error for *Creda* abbas BCS 223, 238, and not to be connected with OE *tredan* 'tread'.]

**Trewa** DB IV p. 629 (Winton.).

: OE *trēwe*, *triewe* etc. 'true, faithful, honest'?

**Twicga** mon. Keary pp. 88 (East Anglia, Aethelweard), 93 (Eadmund). Cf. also *Tricga* Searle p. 459.

: OE *twig* 'twig'?

**Wad(d)a** : *Wada* BCS 116, *Unada* KCD 58 (706)<sup>1</sup>, *Wada* miles BCS 124 (709), *Unadan* (gen.) ib. 181 (755—7), *Wadan* abbatem ib. 287 (798); *Uada* LV 14, 173, 326; *Wada* minister KCD 714 (1005), *Wada* miles ib. 719 (1012); *Wada* dux Sim. Durh. ch. 59 (798)<sup>2</sup>; *Wado* Ellis, Intr. I p. 503, *Wada* ib. II p.

<sup>1</sup> *Wade* BCS 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Wada* Sim. Durh. ch. 67, 89 is a mistake for *Huda*, q. v.

262; cf. also *Wada* Widsith 22; see BINZ p. 196 ff., CHAMBERS p. 95 ff.; — *Wadda* presbyter BCS 72 (688; KCD 994 starred).

: OE *wadan* 'to go, move'. No native compounds with this name-element are found in OE. MÜLLER p. 62, FORSSNER p. 237 f., WREDE, Ostg. p. 115, F 1490, SCHÖNFELD p. 249. — Cf. *Wade*, *Wædel*.

**U(a)eba** : *Uaeba* BCS 73 (689), *Ueba* ib. 99 (699; KCD 30, 44 starred).

: OE *webba* 'weaver', *webbian* 'to weave, contrive'? BRUCKNER p. 315, WINKLER p. 420. — The compound *Wæbheard* Chron. 692 E is of no value, since the same man is elsewhere called *Suæbhard*; see SEARLE p. 473.

**Wecca** monachus BCS 840 = 49 B (c. 680), *Wecca* ib. 82 (693).

: OE *weccan* 'awaken, arouse'. WREDE, Ostg. p. 102, F 1487, SCHÖNFELD p. 248 f.

[**Uuodda** : *Uuoddan* (gen.) Aethelweard 449 (p. 501).<sup>1</sup>

As is shown by the context, this is simply the name of *Woden*, which has been brought into accordance with ordinary OE hypocoristic nomenclature. *Woden* (not included here) is generally connected with OE *wōd* 'mad, raging'; see however HOLTHAUSEN, *Anglia Beibl.* 1918 p. 255. F 1629. — Cf. *Wod* Widsith 30, and *Wode*, *Wodel*.]

**Wraca** mon. Grueber p. 321, Hildebrand p. 408 (Harthacnut).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *wrecan* 'to drive, expel, persecute', *wracu* 'revenge, persecution', *wracian* 'to be banished, be in exile' etc. F 1638, SOCIN p. 217.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Ab(b)a** : *Aban* (gen.) BCS 242 (781)<sup>3</sup>, *Aba* Ellis, Intr. II p. 277; cf. *Abonis* principis BCS 22 (664) = *Abon* ældorman Chron. 656 E, *Abo* Ellis, Intr. II p. 2; — *Abba* LV 177, *Abbanæ* (gen.)<sup>4</sup> BCS 8 (c. 605; KCD 982 starred), *Abba* ib. 91 (716), 332 (811), 380, 381 (824), 412 (c. 833)<sup>5</sup>, 426 (839), 445 (844); *Abba* minister,

<sup>1</sup> 'Hi (Hengist et Horsa) nepotes fuere *Uuoddan* regis barbarorum, quem post, infanda dignitate, ut Deum honorantes, sacrificium obtulerunt Pagani'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Draca* Searle p. 548.

<sup>3</sup> *Uban* KCD 144.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FORSSNER p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> Endorsed in a contemporary hand: '*Abbas* geroefan arfe gedal...', and in a hand of the 12th cent.: '*Testamentum Abbe...*'



Alcuin, *Carmina* p. 326; *Abba* mon. Grueber pp. 87 (Eadw. the Elder), 108, 109, 115 (Aethelstan); *Abba* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 277. Cf. *Abun* mon. Grueber p. 101 (Aethelstan), *Abun* ib. p. 125 (Eadmund) = *Ab(b)an* (gen.)?

: Goth. *aba* 'man'; cf. UHLENBECK, *Beitr.* XXII p. 188. The regular development of Prim. Germ. \**aba-* is seen in OE *Afa*, whereas an ancient geminated form results in OE *Abba*. How the spelling *Aba* is to be interpreted is not quite certain. In the instance from AD 781 -b- may be equivalent to -v- (SIEVERS, *Ags. Gr.* § 191); in DB, on the other hand, it must represent -bb-, or possibly -b-, which -- according to FORSSNER p. 3, note 4 -- has been preserved by the influence of the geminated consonant of *Abba*. MÜLLER p. 44, FORSSNER pp. 3 f., 11; STARK p. 28, F 10, LONGNON, *Pol. Irm.* p. 276, HOLDER I 6, III 471, REEB p. 11, SCHÖNFELD p. 1. — Cf. *Aebba*, *Aebbe* f., *Aebbino* f., *Ebba*, *Ebbi*, *Afa*, *Efe*, *Aefic*, *Efic*.

**Acca** etc.<sup>1</sup>: *Acca* Beda HE III 13, IV 14, V 19, 20, 23<sup>2</sup>, *Acca* Bædæ *Continuatio* 731, *Acca* Beda, *Historia Abbatum* p. 384, *Acca* Beda, *Epistolæ* 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15; *Acca* Eddius, Wilfr. preface, ch. 22, 56; *Acca* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 49, 62, *Acca* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433, 434, = *Aeca* Ann. Lind. 710; *Acca* biscop Chron. E 710, 733, 737, Eadwold *Accan* sunu ib. 905; *Acca* episcopus BCS 91 (716), 124 (709), 127 (710), 290 (803), 327 (808), *Acka* ib. 496 (858), *Acca* minister ib. 516 (867), 519 (868), 550 (882), *Acha* ib. 551 (883), *Acca* ib. 1210 (867).<sup>3</sup>

An ancient name-element, which is probably to be traced back to several originally distinct stems. See F 14, HOLDER I 14, III 476 ff.

**Ad(d)a** etc. : *Adan* (gen.) BCS 1130 (972–92); *Ada* mon. Grueber p. 271, Hildebrand pp. 232, 233, 239 (Cnut); the same name is probably *Ade*, *Adea* mon. Hildebrand pp. 233, 239 (Cnut), and also *Aden* (gen.?) mon. Grueber p. 176 (Eadgar); — *Adda* filius Idæ<sup>4</sup>, Ann. Lind. 560, *Adda* List of Kings 3, *Adda* Geneal.

<sup>1</sup> *Aca* BCS 187, quoted by SEARLE p. 2, is of no value: 'Signum manus ... acan'. Cf. *Aca* LVD p. 2 (13th cent.); see BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 2. Namenk. p. 12, *Anglia Beibl.* 1917 p. 226, ZACHRISSON, *Stud. i mod. språkv.* VI p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Hexham 709–32; see SEARLE BKN p. 176, PLUMMER, *Beda* II p. 329 f. Cf. also note under *Hac(e)a*.

<sup>3</sup> BIRCH dates the charter 967? This name is, however, evidently from 867.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 302.

Corp. Chr. 436 (*Odda* Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Adda* Nennius ch. 57, 63, *Adda* Flor. Worc. 547, 653, p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.), *Adda* Sim. Durh. ch. 12; *Adda* presbyter Beda HE III 21; *Adda* LV 170, 347; *Adda* BCS 97, 98 (697), 501 (c. 860); cf. *Phyphylo* seu *Addae* episcopo BL 44 (c. 737).

MÜLLER pp. 30, 45 connects this name with OG *Addo* (F 152) and Lombard *Ado* (BRUCKNER p. 215), from OG *adal*, OE *ædele* 'noble'. According to MÜLLER *Adda* stands for \**Aðða*, but SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 199, anm. 1, which MÜLLER refers to, states that the sound of -ðð- is represented by -*thth*-, -*tht*- in the oldest manuscripts, and not by -*dd*-. If *Adda* is Germanic at all, which seems rather doubtful, we are of course not concerned here with a real OE short name, but with an ancient, pre-English one. HELLWIG p. 10, HOLDER I 39, LONGNON, Pol. Irm. p. 278, REEB p. 11, SCHÖNFELD p. 2. — Cf. *Aedda*, *Addi*, *Aeddi*, *Addul*, *Adding*.

*Aebba* KCD 31 (c. 689; starred).<sup>1</sup>

Cf. *Abba*, *Ebba*.<sup>2</sup>

*Aedda* : *Aeddan* (gen.) KCD 765 (1042).

See *Adda*. This late instance may also belong to compounds with *Ead*-, *Aed*-.

*Afa* : *Afan* (gen.) BCS 1248 (c. 970), *Afa* abbas KCD 1313 (1017), *Aua* abbas ib. 729 (1019).

See *Ab(b)a*.

*Aifa* (?) mon. Keary p. 105 (St. Eadmund).

Very uncertain reading; cf. above under *Alus*.

*Alusa* Ingibranding<sup>3</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 81, *Alusa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435, *Alusa* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.), *Aluson* Nennius ch. 57. A later spelling is *Aloc* Chron. 547 BC (HACKENBERG p. 111).

See *Elesa*. — Cf. *Alus*.

[*Arfra*, *Arfri* mon. Hildebrand p. 453, *Arfra* Grueber p. 431, *Aerfre* ib. p. 432 (Eadw. Conf.; Stamford).

<sup>1</sup> *Ebba* BCS 74.

<sup>2</sup> When WILLIAMS, Anglia XXV p. 420, gives *Aebba* : *Aeffa* as a parallel to *Ubba* : *Uffa* (for which see below under *Oba*), it is obvious that he has pure phonology rather than onomatology in view. The same holds good of *Alla* : *Aella* ib. p. 421. We often meet with such pairs, it is true, but in many cases the names in question are not etymologically related, and therefore it is always necessary to examine them separately before they are stated to be simply variants of the same name.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

Probably a corrupt form of ODan. *Arnfrith* (NIELSEN) or some OG equivalent of that name (F 139).]

[**Ascha, Aschi, Asci, Ascius** Ellis, Intr. II p. 42.

Though these names might belong to *Aesc(a)*, q. v., I prefer to regard them simply as bad spellings of Scand. *Aschil, Askel(l), Asketil(l)* etc., for which see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 16, Namenk. p. 16.]

**At(t)a** : *Ata* mon. Grueber p. 244, Hildebrand p. 203 (Cnut); *Atta* LV 179.

Lall-name. Cf. Goth. *atta* 'father'. MÜLLER p. 46, F 152, SOCIN p. 195, HOLDER I 276 ('zum Teil keltisch, zum Teil germanisch'), III 737, REEB p. 17, SCHÖNFELD p. 36. — Cf. *Aetti* m. and f., *Aetla*.

**Babba** mon. Keary pp. 30 (Mercia, Offa), 34 (Coenwulf), 67 (Kent, Eadberht); *Babba* p' BCS 538 (874), *Babba* minister ib. 550 (882).

This name belongs to a widely spread group of lall-words, on which see v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 22 ff., HELLQUIST, N. T. f. Fil. 3 R., XII p. 54 f., BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 259. — F 223 derives the corresponding OG *Babbo* from *Badubald*. In point of principle nothing can be said against this, and OE *Babba* might, of course, have originated as a pre-English short form of a compound name, but since *\*Be(a)dub(e)ald* is not recorded in OE we may here leave that possibility out of consideration. — Cf. *Babbi*.

**Bac(c)a** : *Baca* LV 339; *Bacca* ib. 174, 215, *Backa* ib. 177.

Most likely related to OHG *baccho* 'Kinnlade, Backen', and cognate words; see v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 100.<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER p. 46, F 231; HOLDER I 323. — Cf. *Beccel, Bacola*.

**Ba(c)ga** : *Baga* LV 252; *Bacga* ib. 58, 79, 205, 220, 339.

Connected by MÜLLER p. 46 with OW Scand. *bága*<sup>2</sup> 'adversari, resistere', which might seem rather plausible as far as the

<sup>1</sup> CLARK HALL records an OE word *bacca* masc. 'ridge', and refers to MIDDENDORFF, who has *bacce* fem. 'Hügel, längliche Anhöhe, kleiner Höhenzug'. To judge from NE dialects (see EDD 'back sb.<sup>3</sup>') such a word possibly occurred in OE, but it would be rather daring to infer its existence from the only instance adduced by MIDDENDORFF : *to baccan môr* BCS 902, which probably contains the personal name *Bacca*. — MIDDENDORFF's other examples are irrelevant.

<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER erroneously gives the vowel as short (from EGILSSON); see TORP, *Wortschatz* p. 257.



sense is concerned. But the name undoubtedly belongs to the stem *bagg-*, which is exhaustively discussed by v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 97 ff.; cf. also BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 259, *Namenk.* p. 21; JÓNSSON p. 292, KAHLE p. 202. The original sense would then not be 'der Zänker' (MÜLLER p. 139), but 'the fat one'. — F 231.

**Banta** BCS 159 (738), 228 (779).

Perhaps not Germanic; see HOLDER I 343, F 246, FORSSNER p. 203, note 3.

**Bassa** *Cynreowing*<sup>1</sup>, *Geneal. Vesp.* B VI 103, *Bassa* *Geneal. Corp. Chr.* 437 (*Baffa* *Geneal. Tib.* B V 172), *Bassa* *Flor. Worc.* p. 252 (*geneal. reg. merc.*).

See *Bass*.

**Beffa** BCS 1334 = 237 B (780), *Befpha* ib. 101 (699; KCD 46 starred).

Short form of *Berferth* or some similar name? F 255.

**Beoba** : *Beoban* (*gen.*) BCS 108 (704), *Beoba* ib. 145 (c. 725)<sup>2</sup>, 211 (c. 773).

**Beocca** : *Beocca* *abbas* LVH (c. 880; quoted from Searle), *Beocca* *aldormon* *Chron.* 888, *Beocca* *presbyter* BCS 610 (904), *Beocca* *dux* ib. 611 (904), *Byocca* *dux* ib. 740 (939; KCD 1121 starred), *Beocca* *minister* ib. 1308 (c. 975).<sup>3</sup>

Germanic? From Celtic *bekko-s* 'little'? See STOKES p. 166, HOLDER I 363 f.; cf. also *Becca* *Widsith* 19, 115 = *Scand. Bikki*. Or perhaps a short form of compounds with *Beorn-*, *Beorht-*, formed by the common hypocoristic suffix *-cca*? (cf. Introduction).

[**Beowa** KCD 1001 (c. 725; *Beoba* BCS 145); *Beawa* *Flor. Worc.* 849.

See *Beow*, *Beaw*, and BJÖRKMAN, *E. St. L* II pp. 172 note 2, 175, 176 note 1. BRANDL's derivation of *Beawa* from OE *bēag* + *wine* or *bēag* + *wulf* (*Archiv* CXXXVII p. 16 f.) is scarcely convincing.]

**Besa** *presbyter* LVH (c. 1050; quoted from Searle).

See *Besi* and *Bosa*.

[**Biampa** BCS 406 (833).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Beowa* KCD 1001. BINZ's statement (p. 155) that this corresponds to *Beorra* in BCS is due to a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> From an older charter; cf. *Hwita*.

If this is really a native name, which seems highly incredible, it must be corrupt.]

**Bic(c)a** : *Bican* comiti BCS 225 (778), *Bica* diaconus ib. 304 (c. 802); *Bicca* presbyter ib. 72 (688), *Biccan* (gen.) KCD 1290 (c. 995).

Probably the same name as Scand. *Bikki* (LIND) = *Becca* Widsith 19, 115; see HEUSLER, Z. f. d. A. L II p. 99, CHAMBERS p. 191, BINZ p. 208, F 300, 302. *Bikki* also occurs as a byname in OW Scand. (RYGH p. 5, KAHLE p. 235)<sup>1</sup>.

\***Blunta** : *Bluntan* (gen.) KCD 981 (11th cent.).

Perhaps ME *blunt* 'blunt, dull, stupid'. This would then, like *Biga* above, be an example of a stem that is recorded in the language earlier as a proper name than as an ordinary word.<sup>2</sup> *Blunta* is, however, more doubtful than *Biga*, since it occurs in a charter of a strongly pronounced Celtic character. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loan-words p. 260. — Is AF *blund* possibly to be taken into consideration? See ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkv. VI p. 282.

**Bob(b)a** : *Boban* (gen.) BCS 213, 214 (774), 227 (778), 228 (779), *Boba* ib. 395 (828), 426 (839), 437 (841); *Bobban* (gen.) ib. 187 (757), *Bobba* ib. 195 (764).

With regard to this name see v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna p. 24 ff., HELLQUIST, Xen. Lid. p. 87, F 317, SOCIN p. 195, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 28. Cf. *Babba* and the following name.

**Bofa** : *Bofa* Blacemoning<sup>3</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 89, *Bofa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436, *Bofa* Flor. Worc. 765, *Bova* ib. p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.); *Bofa* LV 167, 226; *Bofa* dux BCS 343 (814), 370 (822), 373 (823), 378 (824), 411 (833); *Bofa* mon. Grueber p. 61 (Aelfred). Cf. *Bovo* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.).

See the preceding name. For the interchange *Bob(b)a* : *Bofa*, cf. *Ab(b)a* : *Afa*. — MÜLLER p. 48.

**Bol(l)a** : *Bola* pedissecus BCS 378, 379 (824), 384 (825) = *Bolam* ib. 386 (825)?; — *Bolla* mon. Grueber p. 271, Hildebrand pp. 231, 291, Holm 470 (Cnut); *Bolla* levita LVH (c. 1030; quoted from Searle); *Bolla* Ellis, Intr. II p. 50; cf. *Bollo* ib. I p. 384, II pp. 50, 297.

<sup>1</sup> I prefer to identify *Biche* Ellis, Intr. II p. 49 (Devon), *Bichus* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.) with Celtic *Biccus*; see HOLDER I 416, III 861.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WEEKLEY, Surnames p. 22 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303.

It is doubtful whether we are here concerned with one or two names; from an OE point of view *Bol(l)a* is probably in any case to be regarded as a lall-name. *Bola* appears to be equivalent to OHG *Buolo* (F 325), for which see KLUGE, Etym. Wb. 'Buhle'. The interpretation of *Bolla* as a lall-word is, however, somewhat invalidated by its occurrence as a byname: *Alsius Bolla* Ellis, Intr. II p. 25 (Essex); if this is OE *bolla* 'bowl, cup', the independent name *Bolla* must of course be intelligible as well. Moreover, in some cases we have no doubt to take Celtic *Bollo*, *Bollus* (HOLDER III 902) into account: the moneyer above worked at Gloucester, and the examples in DB are taken from Hants., Dors., Somers. See also *Bolle*. — Cf. HOLM p. 18 f.; *Beola*, which HOLM identifies with *Bolla*, is a Celtic name: *Beola(n)* mon. Grueber pp. 191, 198, Hildebrand pp. 57, 291 = Irish *Béollan*; see BUGGE, Vesterland. Indfl. p. 298, STOKES, Rev. celt. III p. 186, CRAIGIE, Z. f. celt. Phil. I p. 444.

**Bosa** : *Bosa*<sup>1</sup> Beda HE IV 12 (var. *Bossa*; Transl. p. 413 *Bosa*, *Boosa*), 23, V 3, 20, 24, *Bosan* (acc.) Chron. 678 E, 685 E, *Bosa* Geneal. Vesp B VI 56, 59, *Bosa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434, *Bosa* Ann. Lind. 678, *Bosam* (acc.) Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 54, *Bosa* Alcuin, Versus 846, 1083, *Bosa* Flor. Worc. 677, p. 244 (archiepisc. eborac.); *Bosa* LV 86, 342; *Bosa* levita JMM p. 464 (c. 750); *Bosa* Geneal. Tib. B V 173 (HACKENBERG p. 16); *Bosa* episcopus BCS 66 (685)<sup>2</sup>, *Bosam* (acc.) ib. 110, 110 A (704), *Bosan* (gen.) ib. 168 (744), *Bosa* scriba regis ib. 409 (833; KCD 233 starred); *Bosa* mon. Grueber pp. 8 (Ecgbearht), 56 (Aelfred); *Bosa* Yorks. Archæol. Journal 1875 p. 380 (quoted from Searle). Cf. *Boso* Ellis, Intr. II p. 297; probably Cont.-Germ. (FORSSNER p. 52, note 2).

: OHG *bôsi* 'böse', or possibly, as HOLTHAUSEN interprets the name I. F. XXV p. 150, belonging to the same root as OE *baso*, *beaso* 'purple, scarlet', *baswian* 'to stain red', Skr. *bhās* 'light, radiance', *bhāsati* 'shines' etc. MÜLLER pp. 48, 139<sup>3</sup>, F 329, SOCIN pp. 195, 223, SCHÖNFELD pp. 52, 283, HOLDER I 495. — Cf. *Bosi*, *Besa*, (*Bosel* etc.)

[**Bruma** mon. Grueber p. 244, Hildebrand p. 283 (Cnut).

See *Brum*.]

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of York 678—705; SEARLE BKN p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> 'A clear forgery' HADDAN-STUBBS III p. 166, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Note the translation: 'der Leuchtende, Lichte'.



[**Bruta** *præfectus* KCD 73 (725?).

Celtic according to STARK p. 3. THORPE p. 17 stamps this charter as 'a glaring monkish forgery'.]

**Bubba**: *Bubba* Caedbaeding<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 108, *Bubba* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Bubba* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. Lind.); *Bubba* BCS 228 (779).

Probably belonging to the same group as *Bobba*, q. v. Cf. Brietmarus *Bubba* Ellis, Intr. II p. 61.

[**Buitta**, messenger to Alcuin from Cuthred presbyter of Lindisfarne, Alcuin, *Epistolae* 22 (793).

Germanic? A mistake for *Witta*, *Uitta*, q. v.?

**Buna**: *Buna* abbas BCS 162 (742), '*Bunan* (gen.) ib. 193 (762), *Buna* LV 81, 277.

A stem of doubtful etymology, found also in other Germanic names; see MÜLLER p. 49, F 345, JÓNSSON p. 222. In OE associated with *bune* 'cup, beaker'? — Cf. *Bunel*; *Bynna*.

**Burra** LV 225. Cf. *Burro* Ellis, Intr. II p. 63 (Cont.-Germ.?).

Most likely related to Goth. *baúr*, OW Scand. *burr*, OE *byre* 'child, son, young man'. Or from compounds with *Burg*-? Cf. *Burred* = *Burgred* Ellis l. c. — MÜLLER p. 49, F 351, SCHÖNFELD p. 58; HOLDER I 642.

**Busa** minister BCS 669 (930; KCD 350 starred).

Either Celtic (HOLDER I 643), or from a Germanic stem *bus* 1. 'to storm' as in OWScand. *bysja* 'to gush', E Fris. *bûsen* 'to be vehement', or *bus* 2. 'to swell' as in MHG *bûs* 'Aufgeblasenheit, schwellende Fülle', ME *bousen* (? NED 'bouse' v.<sup>1</sup>); see TORP, Wortschatz p. 276. — Cf. *Bus*.

**Byda** LV 167.

: OE *bēodan* 'command'; see *B(a)eda*. SWEET, OET p. 640, and after him SEARLE, writes *Bȳda* = *Bieda*, which cannot be correct, since the names in LV are of an altogether non-WSax. character. Cf. *Beda* LV 167 etc.<sup>2</sup>. MÜLLER pp. 14, 49.

[**Byoga** mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 49 (Aethelr. II).

Probably = *Boiga*, *Boga*, *Boia*, q. v.]

[**Cana** Ellis, Intr. II p. 64 (Suss., Surr.); cf. *Cano* ib. (Suss.).

Though *Cana* may possibly be derived from and associated with OE speech material it is perhaps more likely only an Anglicized form of Cont.-Germ. *Cano* (F 358, II: 1, 1641) or Scand.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254, HACKENBERG p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Byda* Flor. Worc. 501, on the other hand, is of course the same as *Bieda*.

*Cane* (see below). The stem is not otherwise recorded as a name-element in OE.<sup>1]</sup>

**Caua** LV 201; *Caua* prepositus Ellis, Intr. II p. 65. Cf. Leuwinus *Chaua* ib. I p. 445, Vluricus *cawua* ib. II p. 259.

: OE *cāf* 'quick, active, prompt: bold, brave'? Perhaps not Germanic; see Crawf. chart. p. 61, MÜLLER p. 50. — Cf. *Cawe*.

[**Ceatta** (St) 'not otherwise known, bur. at Lichf. LVH' (quoted from Searle).

This instance is obviously of no great value, and the name has been included only because it possibly also occurs in a place-name (KCD 636). As to its etymology I have no plausible suggestion to offer. OE *catt* 'cat' can scarcely be taken into consideration, on account of the diphthong *ea*<sup>2</sup>, and therefore it seems preferable to regard it as Celtic. Perhaps a parallel form to Celtic *Ceadda*, formed by analogy with *Eatta*: *Eadda* etc.<sup>3]</sup>

**Ceob(b)a**: *Ceoba* BCS 157 (723—37), *Ciaban* clerico ib. 852 = 416 B (836); *Ceobba* ib. 197 (c. 765), 238 (778—81).

Is this one name or two? *Ceobba* may be interpreted as a short form of *Ceolbeald*, *Ceolbeorht*, thus a parallel to *Ceolla*, q. v.; cf. *Beonna*: *Beorra*. Perhaps not native; see STARK p. 123 and note 1; GEVENICH p. 30 f. — Cf. *Ceofa*.

**Ceoca** mon. Grueber p. 244 (Cnut), *Ceoca* (or *Ceola*) ib. 330 (Eadw. Conf.). Cf. *Ceca* DB IV p. 623 (Winton.).

See *Ceoc*.

**Ceofa** diaconus BCS 379 (824).

See *Ceob(b)a*.

**Cissa**: *Cissa*, son of Aelle<sup>4</sup>, Chron. 477, 491, *Cissa* Aethel-

<sup>1</sup> *Canus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 65 is not a Latinization of this name, as might be thought, but = *Canut*, *Cnut*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 82, and note 2. Cf. also *Hardechinus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 40 = *Harthacnut*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 51, Anglia Beibl. 1918 p. 239; GEVENICH p. 68, MAWER, M.L.R. XIV p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> As has already been pointed out, the difference between *Eatta*: *Eadda* is in all probability due to the different character of the initial consonant of the second member. Consequently ZACHRISSON's statement, Stud. i mod. språkvet. V p. 10 note 2, that "pet-names were sometimes formed by the unvoicing of a voiced medial consonant; *Ceatta*, *Otta*, *Botta* etc. may be pet-names for *Ceadda*, *Odda*, *Bodda*" can scarcely be correctly formulated.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 270. In Henry Hunt. p. 65 he is called *Scisse*, but II 15 *Cissa*.

weard 492; *Cissa* rex Saxonum<sup>1</sup> BCS 101 (699), 155 (726–37) = *Cisi* (Lat. gen.) ib. 63 (682), 71, 72 (688) = *Cissi* ministri ib. 82 (693)?; *Cissa* Guthlac ch. 4, 18<sup>2</sup>, *Cissa* Flor. Worc. 714 = *Cissa* (St.) LVH (quoted from Searle)?; *Cissa* LV 176.

MÜLLER p. 50 connects *Cissa* with OE *ceosol* 'gravel, sand, shingle', from Germanic *\*kis-*; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 44. Though this etymology may be defended from a phonological point of view it seems, however, too far-fetched, and therefore it will perhaps be most advisable to regard the name as Celtic; cf. STARK, Kelt. Namen 59 p. 207, HELLWIG p. 11, HOLDER I 1032. BINZ's statement, Litbl. 1893, 161, that *Cissa* in LV is not Celtic because it is also recorded as the name of a 'rex Saxonum', is not a decisive proof to the contrary, since name and nationality do not necessarily agree. Cf. Preface.

**Cnebba** etc.: *Cnebba* Icling<sup>3</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 92 (reg. merc.), *Cnebba* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Cnebba* Iceling, Chron. 626 BC, 755 A, *Cnibba* Henry Hunt. 626, 755, *Nibba* Aethelweard 756; *Cnebban* (acc.) aldormon Chron. 568, *Cnybban* (acc.) Aethelweard 568, *Cnebbano* (abl.) Flor. Worc. 568, *Cneban* (acc.) Henry Hunt. 568.

Perhaps from a Germanic stem *\*kneb-*, *\*knab-* 'to compress' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 49), in which case it is cognate with *Cnapa*, q. v. Cf. also v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna p. 57 f., STARK pp. 122, 147.

[Couta Ellis, Intr. II p. 72.

For *Gouta*, an Anglicized form of Scand. *Gouti*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 50.]

**Creda**: *Credan* abbatis BCS 223 (777), *Creda* abbas ib. 238 (778), *Credano* abbat ib. 116 (in a confirmation). Cf. *Credanus*, abbot of Evesham, DCB I p. 695. Cf. also *Treda*.

Celtic, or related to the following name? See HOLDER I 1158.

**Creoda**, **Cri(o)da**: *Creoda*, son of Cerdic, Chron. 855 D, *Criodo* Ceardicing, Sax. Geneal. 6, *Creoda* Cynricing(!) Geneal. Tib. B V 173; *Creoda*, grandfather of Penda, Chron. 626 BC, 755 A, *Crioda* Cynewalding, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 91, *Creoda* Geneal. Corp. Chr.

<sup>1</sup> Sub king of Wiltshire (late 7th cent.).

<sup>2</sup> Anchorite, Croyland. See DCB I p. 547. — All the charters under *Cissa* are starred by KEMBLE.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.



437, 438, *Creoda* Flor. Worc. p. 251 (geneal. reg. merc.), *Creada* Henry Hunt. IV 21 (755); *Crida* Chron. 593<sup>1</sup>.

Since the oldest forms have *io*, the name can hardly be connected with the Germanic base \**kreud-* in OE *crūdan* 'to press', for which see NED 'crowd'. *Crida* is perhaps Celtic (STARK p. 70, note 1, DCB I p. 713) and not the same name as *Crioda*. Or is *Crida* the original form and *Crioda* (> *Creoda*) due to *a*-mutation? See SIEVERS, Beitr. XVIII p. 414, BÜLBRING § 235 and anm. (Cf. *Tridda*).

**Cretta**: *Cretta* Uinting<sup>2</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 109, *Cretta* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Cretta* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. lind.); *Cretta* LV 224.

: OHG *krazzôn* 'to scratch', Goth. *gakrôlôn* 'to bruise, crush'? MÜLLER p. 51, F 367; HOLDER I 1165.

**Criswa(n)?** BCS 72 (688; KCD 994 starred).

Scarcely native.

[**Croda** KCD 116 (799–802)<sup>3</sup>.

Apparently only an error for *Cyddā*. Otherwise one might connect it with OE *gecroð* 'crowd', belonging to the stem of *crūdan*; cf. above under *Creoda*.]

**Cuba**, **Cuf(f)a**: *Cuba* primicerius BCS 291 (798), *Cuba* p' ib. 319 (805); *Cufa* abbas ib. 312 (803)<sup>4</sup>, *Cufa* minister ib. 595 (901), *Cufa* miles ib. 600 (903), *Cufa* minister ib. 611 (904); *Cuffan* (gen.) ib. 89 (696; KCD 40 starred).

Probably from the Germanic stem \**kūb-* in OWScand. *kúfr* 'a rounded top'<sup>5</sup>, OE *cýf* 'tub, vat' etc.; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 47, v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna pp. 53, 64 f. \**Cuffa* is perhaps nothing but a bad spelling; if genuine, it seems to be a relatively late geminated form of *Cufa*, whereas *Abba* (: *Afa*), for instance, dates from a more remote period. STARK, Kelt. Namen 59, p. 211, suggests Celtic origin.

**Cuga** LV 203<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to Henry Hunt. II 26, 27 identical with the alleged grandfather of Penda; cf. PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 18. See also SEARLE BKN pp. 290, 330.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *Cyddā* BCS 201, SWEET, OET p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> An eleventh century copy, which explains the spelling with *f* compared with the preceding one with *b*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. LIND s. v., and JÓNSSON p. 228, KAHLE p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> SEARLE also records one '*Cuga* min. BCS 595, KCD 1078'. Both, which really are the same charter, have, however, '*Buga* minister, *Cufa* minister'.

According to MÜLLER p. 51 to be connected with OWScand. *kūgi* 'oppressor', in which case it is cognate with the preceding name; see FALK-TORP, Norw.-dän. Etym. Wb. 'kop' and 'kue'. Cf. LIND s. v.

[**Cumbra** (?): *Cumbran* præfecti regis KCD 93 (745; starred) = *Combran* p. r. BCS 169; *Cumbran* (acc.) aldor mon Chron. 755 A.

This is evidently the same word as is contained in OE *Cumbra land* Chron. 945 'the land of the *Cymry*, the compatriots'<sup>1</sup>. Thus *Cumbra* is Welsh *Cymro* 'Welshman' in an Anglicized shape<sup>2</sup>, but whether it was really used as an appellative and understood as such is uncertain. Cf. *W(e)alh*.]

**Cyd(d)a**: *Cyda* LV 251; *Cyddā* BCS 201 (799—802)<sup>3</sup>, *Cyddā* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Cyddā* dux ib. 280, 281 (796), 289 (798).

To be connected with *Cud(d)a*, q. v.? Or formed from compounds with *Cyne-* by the hypocoristic ending *-dda*? (cf. Introduction). MÜLLER p. 51. — Cf. *Cyddi*.

**Cyga** comes BCS 316 (804; KCD 187 starred)<sup>4</sup>.

From the same stem as *Cuga*? Cf. also late WSax. *cȳgan* < *cīegan* 'to call, name'.

**Diga** mon. Keary p. 53 (Mercia, Burgred), Grueber p. 29 (Aethelr. I). Cf. *Idiga* mon. Keary p. 62.

Perhaps related to Goth. *deigan* 'to form', *gadigis* 'work, image'; see FEIST, Etym. Wb., s. v.

\***Dilra**: *Dilran* (gen.) BCS 187 (759).

A scribal error for *Diora*?<sup>5</sup>

**Dora** DB IV p. 624 (Winton.).

For *Deora*? Cf. *Dormod* minister BCS 624 (909) = *Deormod* minister ib. 623, 625 etc. — Cf. also OE *dora* 'humble-bee'.

**Drabba** festerman BCS 1130 (972—92).

Probably connected with Goth. *gadraban* 'to hew out'; see FEIST, Etym. Wb., s. v. KLUGE, Etym. Wb. 'Treber', quotes late

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HOLDER III 1259, TAYLOR, Names and their histories 'Cumberland', MIDDENDORFF p. 34 f., RATHMANN, Die lautl. Gestalt. engl. Personennamen p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> SKEAT, Place-names of Hertfordshire p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Croda* KCD 116.

<sup>4</sup> One is uncertain how to interpret 'Cineferth filius *Cygingc*' (Searle p. 152). Was the father's name *Cuga*, *Cyga* or *Cyging*?

<sup>5</sup> (Ego) *Diozsan*, which is found in a probably fabricated charter from c. 771 (BCS 211, KCD 1010), is certainly not native. DCB IV p. 161, Index Sax. and SEARLE erroneously give *Diozza* as nom.

OE *drabbe* 'dregs, lees', which seems, however, to be only a constructed form; see BOSWORTH-TOLLER and Supplem. Cf. also NED 'drab'; v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 31, HELLQUIST, N.T. f. Fil. 3 R. XII p. 60, Xen. Lid. p. 87. — F 419.

**Dropa, Drowa**(?)<sup>1</sup> mon. Grueber p. 299, *Drowa* mon. Hildebrand p. 308 (Cnut; the same man as in Grueber).

If *Dropa* is the true reading, the name may be connected with OE *dropa* 'drop'; though the combination is unlikely from a semasiological point of view<sup>2</sup>; if *Drowa*, no corresponding word is on record in OE.

**Eaba, Eafa, Eoba, Eofa**: *Eaba* Eopping<sup>3</sup>, Sax. Geneal. 3, *Eaua* Eopping, Geneal. Tib. B V 172, *Eafa* Eopping, Chron. A, preface, 855, *Eafa* Asser ch. 1, *Eafa* Aethelweard 857, *Eafæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 849, *Eawa*(!) ib. p. 256 (geneal. reg. west-sax.); *Eafa*, dux Merciorum, Beda HE III 24 (var. *Eaba*; Transl. p. 314 *Eafa*), *Eaba*, dux gentis Merciorum, Flor. Worc. 659<sup>4</sup>, *Eaba* abbas (Malmesbury) BL 135 (755—86)<sup>5</sup>; *Eaba* presbiter<sup>6</sup> BL 34 (735), *Eoban* presbiterum ib. 35 (735), *Eobo* (abl.) ib. 36 (732—46), *Eoban* (dat.) ib. 41 (c. 737—8); *Eaba* mon. Keary pp. 68, 69 (Kent, Cuthred; Index p. 264 = *Eoba*), *Eoba* ib. pp. 31 (Mercia, Offa), 33 (Cynethryth), *Eoba* (or *Oba*) ib. p. 38 (Coenwulf); *Eofa* LV 171. Cf. *Iofa* KCD 981 (11th cent.). — *Eobba* Nennius ch. 56, 57, 61 stands for *Eoppa*, q. v.

As the instances show, no real distinction can be drawn between the forms with *ea* and those with *eo*. They seem to be derived from different dialects (see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 150, 3 and anm. 1, BÜLBRING §§ 108, 114), and it is impossible to decide whether the original form is *\*auða-* or *\*euða-*. Be that as it may, we are here probably concerned with an ancient name-element, which has originated as a short form of compounds such as *\*Audbalda-* or *\*Eudbalda-* (F 189, 490, SCHÖNFELD p. 81 f.). MÜLLER p. 54. — Cf. *Eabae* f., *Eafu* f., *Eafe* f., *Eafing*, *Eobe*, *Eobing*, *Eof*, *Iof*, *Iab*, *Iubi*.

<sup>1</sup> DROPA; SEARLE reads *Drowa*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, OWScand. *dropi* as a byname JÓNSSON p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> *Eoba* rex Merciorum, Ann. Cambr. 644, is perhaps the same as *Eowa*, q. v.

<sup>5</sup> *Eaba* seems to have lived about 725; see DCB II p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Presbyter of Boniface and Bishop of Maestrich; cf. DCB II p. 129.



**Eacca** minister BCS 519 (868).

According to SWEET, OET p. 471 = *Acca*, which is, however, doubtful, since '*Acca* minister' occurs in the same charter as the name of a different person. But too much importance must not of course be attached to the spellings; if *Eacca* is really genuine, does it belong to OE *ēacian* 'to increase', *ēaca* 'addition, increase'? F 206.

**Eawa, Eowa** etc. : *Eowa* Pybbing, brother of Penda<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 98, 101, *Eowa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436, 437 (*Eopa*, *Eowa* Geneal. Tib. B V 172), *Eua* filius Pubba, Nennius ch. 60, *Eoua* filius Pippa, ib. ch. 65, *Eawa* Pybing, Chron. 716 A, 755 A, *Eowa* Flor. Worc. p. 252 (geneal. reg. merc.). Cf. *Eoba* rex Merciorum, Ann. Cambr. 644.<sup>2</sup> — *Eapa* Henry Hunt. 755, *Eoppæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 755 stand for *Eawa*, *Eowa*, whereas *Eawa* Flor. Worc. p. 256 (geneal. reg. west-sax.) is an error for *Eafa*, q. v.<sup>3</sup>

This name is generally connected with the tribal name \**Eowas* (*Eowum*) Widsith 26, which is probably identical with Lat. *Aviones*, from Germ. \**awjō-*, i. e. the same stem as occurs in OE *ieg* 'island' and *ēa* 'water, stream'.<sup>4</sup> Thus *Eowum* is supposed to be a North. form for W Sax. \**Eawum* (Bülbring § 108), and if *Eowa* really belongs here, the expected W Sax. form would be *Eawa*, which is also recorded in Chron. That, in spite of this, *Eowa* is found as late as in Flor. Worc. is not particularly surprising, since the name seems to have been simply copied from one genealogy to another. — It might also be thought that \**Eowas* and *Eowa*~*Eawa* are separate words, and that *Eowa* is the regular W Sax. form.<sup>5</sup> For the etymology one might then adduce the verb *iewan*, *ēowan*, *ēawan* 'to show', for which see SIEVERS, Afs. Gr. § 408, 2 and anm. 10. This alternative is, however, less plausible. Cf. CHAMBERS p. 197 and literature there quoted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> See PLUMMER, Beda II p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also BUGGE's conjecture *Eawa* for *Eaha* Finn 17 (Beitr. XII p. 25).

<sup>4</sup> A few compounds with *Ea-* are recorded in OE; see MÜLLER p. 87. *Eawa* — if that form is genuine — may possibly be regarded as a short form of *Eawulf* (Searle p. 216), which is, however, perhaps only a mistake for *Eadwulf*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 171, note 5.

**Ebba** BCS 74 (c. 689)<sup>1</sup>; *Ebba* abbas (709) Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 63 (var. *Aebba*, *Eabba*)<sup>2</sup>.

A secondary stem; see F 435, STARK p. 40. The interchange between *E*- and *Ae*-forms shows that in OE this stem has been confused with that of *Abba*, q. v. — Cf. *Ebbi*, *Ebbella*.

**Ebissa**, fratruelis of Oetha, Nennius ch. 38, *Ebusan* filium Hengesti, Will. Malm. ch. 44.<sup>3</sup>

Celtic? See HOLDER I 1404.

**Echha** etc. : *Aehcha* BCS 97, 98 (697); *Echha* LV 53, 94, 96; *Echha* prepositus, Ellis, Intr. II p. 77 (Devon), *Eccha* DB IV p. 607 (Exon.). Cf. *Echa* venerabilis, Alcuin, Versus 1387.<sup>4</sup>

SWEET, OET p. 494, brings the first two instances together under a W Sax. normalized form *\*Eahha*<sup>5</sup>, i. e. he derives both *Aehcha* and *Echha* from W Germ. *\*Ahha* (probably cognate with Goth. *aha* 'understanding, intellect'). *Aehcha* would then be due to Anglian Ebnung (BÜLBRING § 205) and *Echha* to palatal Umlaut in South Northumbr. (BÜLBRING § 209 f., and Anglia Beibl. 1899 p. 6, note 2). In the case of *Echha* this explanation is possible, but in that of *Aehcha* we meet with the very annoying circumstance that it does not occur in an Anglian charter, but in a Kentish one, where we should expect a form *\*Eahha*, and therefore — if the spellings are to be trusted — the identity of *Aehcha* and *Echha* seems highly questionable. The latter name may also belong to OE *eoh* 'war-horse, charger'<sup>6</sup>; W Germ. *\*Ehha* would likewise result in Angl. *Ehha* (BÜLBRING § 203). — *Eccha* in DB may be explained from early W Sax. *\*Eahha* (BÜLBRING § 313), but not from early W Sax. *\*Eohha* (BÜLBRING § 311); most probably, however, *Echha* is here only another spelling of *Ecca* or *Ecga*, q. v.; cf. *Echefrid* Ellis, Intr. II p. 77 = *Ecgfrid*. On the other hand, it is of course not permissible to identify the early

<sup>1</sup> *Aebba* KCD 31 (starred).

<sup>2</sup> BCS 1315, which is referred to in Index Sax., has 'in *Ebban* mor, of *Aebban* more'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> RAINE, Hist. of York I p. 390, reads *Etha*. Cf. Sim. Durh. ch. 46 (767): 'Ipse quoque anno *Etha* anachorita feliciter in Cric obiit'. According to ARNOLD, Sim. Durh. (Rolls Ser.) I p. XXXVIII, this name possibly = *Aethvinus*. In DCB II p. 22 he is identified with *Echha* LV 53. What his name really was, is apparently rather uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Eaha* Finn 17. See DICKINS p. 66; cf. also note under *Eawa*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Eohric* Chron. 905 A (Dane); see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 36.

instances also with *Ecce*, as BINZ does p. 216 f.; cf. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 220. MÜLLER pp. 3, 53, 139, F 14, BRUCKNER p. 219.

\**Egera* : *Egeran* (gen.) BCS 89 (696; KCD 40 starred).

Cf. *Egisa*?

*Elda* mon. Keary p. 95 (East Anglia, Aethelstan II), Grueber p. 69 (Aelfred).

: OE *ielde* 'men'? Perhaps only a bad spelling for *Ealda*, q. v. Cf. *Eldecar* (*Eldegar*?) mon. Keary p. 116 (St. Eadmund).

*Elesa* Esling, father of Cerdic, Chron. Preface A, 597 A, 855 A, *Elesa* Asser ch. 1, *Elesa* Aethelweard 857, *Elesa* Flor. Worc. 552, 849, p. 253, *Elesius* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Elesa* Esling, Geneal. Tib. B V 173. In Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438 (= Geneal. Tib. B V 172) the place of *Elesa* is taken by *Aluca*. Influenced by *Alusa* + *Aloc*? Cf. HACKENBERG p. 5, and *Aluca* below.

This name is generally connected with *Elsa* Widsith 117; see BINZ p. 206, STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 36, CHAMBERS p. 220, where further references are given. *Elesa* probably represents an earlier \**Alisa*-, whereas *Alusa* in the North. genealogies (cf. above) is derived from a parallel form \**Alusa*-. — BRANDL's etymology of *Elesa* < \**albi* + \**sigi* (Archiv CXXXVII p. 7) seems quite arbitrary. — Cf. *Else*.

[*Eola* mon. York Grueber p. 361, Hildebrand p. 435 (Eadw Conf.).

Probably a Scand. name with substitution of OE *eo* for OW Scand. *io*; see *Iol(l)a*. — Cf. the following name.]

*Eolla* : *Eolla* Beda HE V 18 (Transl. pp. 648, 652 *Eolla*)<sup>1</sup>, *Eolla* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 13 (episc. austr. sax.), *Eolla* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431, *Eollan* episcopo BCS 132 (714; spurious), *Eolla*, *Eollano* (abl.) ib. 145 (c. 725), *Eolla* Flor. Worc. p. 234 (episc. seolesiens.).<sup>2</sup>

For chronological reasons this cannot be a Scand. loan like the preceding name, but what its origin is seems very doubtful, unless it belongs to *Eorl*-; native compounds with that element are, however, not recorded in OE; see FORSSNER p. 78.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Selsey 716—31; SEARLE BKN p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Eotwulf* BCS 79 is a mistake for *Ceolwulf* (I), King of Mercia 821—23. — The tribal name *Eolas* Widsith 87 is probably corrupt; see CHAMBERS p. 216.



[**Eppa** BL 7 (709—13). — *Eppam* (acc.) Henry Hunt. 661 is = *Eoppa*, q. v.<sup>1</sup>

Probably Celtic; see HOLDER I 1455, PEDERSEN, Vergl. Gramm. I p. 477.]

\***Erra** : *Errano* comite BCS 145 (c. 725).

From compounds with *Er-* (FORSSNER p. 77 ff.)? — Cf. *Ere*.

[**Eya** BCS 876 (946).

Probably Continental; cf. OG *Eio*, *Eyo* F 16.]

**Feala**? : 'Gesfræg *Feala* sune' Thorpe p. 631 (11th cent.).

: OE *fealu* 'fallow'? The instance is, however, doubtful and perhaps dates from post-Conquest times.

**Geda** Thorpe p. 632 (11th cent.).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *giedd*, *gedd* 'song, poem'? More likely Celtic; see HOLDER I 1993. Cf. the preceding name. — Cf. *Geddi*.

[**Geola** mon. Grueber p. 363 (Eadw. Conf.).

Not OE *geolu* 'yellow', but undoubtedly identical with *Iola* l. c., likewise a moneyer from York. The spelling *Geola* would then be analogous to *Götland*, \**Geōtland* = OW Scand. *Jótland*; see BJÖRKMAN, E. St. XXXIX p. 356 ff. — Cf. *Iol(l)a*.]

**Giencea** (?) mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan).

**Glappa** etc. : *Glappa*, son of Ida<sup>3</sup>, List of Kings 3, *Glappa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436 (*Clapba* Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Glappa* filius Idae, Ann. Lind. 568, *Glappa* Sim. Durh. ch. 12, *Clappa* filius Idae, Flor. Worc. 559, *Glappa* ib. p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.).

: OW Scand. *glap* 'impropriety' and cognate words, for which see TAMM, Etym. svensk ordbok 'glappa', 'glop', TORP, Wortschatz p. 147. F 368, BRUCKNER pp. 31, 50, 154.

[**Gol(l)a** etc. : *Gola* or *Golla* mon. Grueber p. 200 (Aethelr. II), *Gola* ib. 331 (Eadw. Conf.), *Gola*, *Golla* mon. Hildebrand p. 59 (Aethelr. II); *Gola* Ellis, Intr. II p. 129, *Gola* DB IV p. 608 (Exon.). Cf. *Gollam*, *Gollan* Ellis, Intr. II p. 330.

Probably a mistake for *Cola*, q. v., or in some cases perhaps for *Iol(l)a*, q. v.; the moneyer in the reign of Aethelred II worked

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epa* 'name (in runes) on a sceatta' Keary, Num. Chron. 1894 p. 20. For *Eowa*? Cf. MÜLLENHOFF, Nordalb. Stud. I p. 156. — SEARLE's generosity extends a little too far when he includes even a Spanish bishop *Eppa* in his Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum.

<sup>2</sup> *Gedone* BCS 1065 is a Lat. abl. of *Goda*. See note under *Goda*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 302.

at York. I identify *Gollam*, *Gollan* in DB with *Colman* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 85, FORSSNER p. 55); cf. *Golemannus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 330, which is obviously identical with *Colemannus* ib. p. 70.

[\**Goma*. SEARLE p. 267 registers one '*Goma* (gen. *goman*) mon. : Cnut Grueber'. This instance is, however, to use a mild expression, uncertain. Grueber has p. (245 and) 286 *Goman* = *Godman* (Lond.), which is no doubt correct, since a moneyer *Godaman*, *Godeman*, *Godman* worked at that time in London see GRUEBER p. 286.]

**Hæga** BCS 197 (c. 765).

: OE *gehagian* (impers.) 'to please, suit', or possibly OE *haga* 'hedge, enclosure'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 67 f. F 715. — Cf. *Hega*.<sup>1</sup>

**Hama** LV 210, 349, *Hama* suangerefa BCS 386 (825). Cf. *Hama* Beowulf 1198, Widsith 124, 130; see BINZ p. 212.

If the vowel is long, the name may belong to OE *hām* 'home', or *hāma* 'cricket', or OHG *\*heim* 'shining' (KÖGEL, I. F. IV p. 313 f.); if short, to OE *hama* 'covering, dress, garment'? Cf. also compounds with *Haem*-. MÜLLER pp. 55, 105, F 731, 743, SCHÖNFELD pp. 124, 126, FORSSNER p. 139 ff., BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Hama'. — Cf. *Hame* (*Hamīng*, *Hemming*).<sup>2</sup>

**Heara** BCS 196 (765).

**Heca** etc. : *Heca*<sup>3</sup> Chron. 1045 E, *Hecan* (dat.) ib. 1047 C, *Heca* ib. 1048 D, *Hēca* b on Suð Sexum, ib. 1057 D, *Heaca* b on Suð Seaxan, ib. 1058 E, *Hoica* episcopus KCD 792, 793 (1050), *Heka* bisceop ib. 956 (1052), *Heca* Flor. Worc. 1047, p. 234 (episc. seolesiens.); Hunewine *Hecca* sunu KCD 1334 (1046). Cf. *Hecus*, *Heccha* DB IV p. 609 (Exon.). Cf. also *Ecce*.

The spellings *Hēca* and *Hoica*<sup>4</sup> seem to indicate that this is the same stem as in *Hooc*, q. v. (BÜLBRING §§ 165, 166).

**Hefa** minister BCS 677 (931), 707 (935) = *Hæfa* minister ib. 740 (939; KCD 1121 starred)?

: OE *hebban* 'heave, raise, lift'? WILLIAMS, Anglia XXV p. 420. (Cf. *Hebba*).

<sup>1</sup> For *Hagona* etc. see FORSSNER p. 138 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ham*... BCS 225 (778) is a mutilated form.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Selsey 1047–57; SEARLE BKN p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Coinrēd* = *Cænređ*, SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 6, anm. 1. — Scarcely to be connected with OG *Haico*, *Hoico* F 722, BINZ p. 210.

**Hega** BCS 496 (858),<sup>1</sup> Hunewine *Hega* suna, Thorpe p. 638 (11th cent.; cf. above under *Heca*).

Probably a Kentish form, belonging to the same stem as *Hæcga*, q. v. Cf. CHADWICK, *Studies in OE* p. 103.

**Hud(d)a**: *Huda* Chron. 853, *Huda* Asser ch. 9, *Huda* Aethelweard 853 (cf. note under *Wada*); *Hudan* ministri BCS 421 (838), *Huda* ib. 426 (839), 442 (843); *Hudda* ib. 439 (842).

Various etymologies are suggested by F 921, 862. The compound *Hudemán* BCS 1130 is of Continental origin; see FORSSNER p. 156. — Cf. *Huduc*.

[**Hwala** etc.: *Hwala* Bedwiging<sup>2</sup> Chron. 855 BCD, *Hwala* Asser ch. 1, *Wala* qui fuit Bedwig, Flor. Worc. 849, p. 247, *Wala* Sim. Durh. 849, *Gwala* Will. Malm. ch. 116. Cf. [*H*]wala Widsith 14 (CHAMBERS p. 190). For *Wala* Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 405, see FORSSNER p. 242.

Possibly related to OE *hwæl* 'whale'. As early as 1836 — if not before — this connection was made by KEMBLE<sup>2</sup>, and I still think it preferable to BRANDL's derivation of the name from OE *hwæt* + *lāc* (Archiv CXXXVII p. 16 f.). The latter etymology seems to betray a desire to explain — à tout prix — all uncompounded names as the result of a mutilation process, i. e. as secondary formations. — Cf. also HOLTHAUSEN, *Anglia* Beibl. 1919 p. 87.]

**Hymma**: *Hymman* (gen.) BCS 519 (868; this name in a later addition).

It is uncertain whether *y* is genuine or not; cf. *Hyldefrīdes* just above. Identical with *Imma*, q. v.? — *Hymbert* BCS 222 stands for *Hygebeorht*, according to SEARLE p. 311.

[**Hymora**: *Hymoran* (dat.) BCS 148 (732) is obviously a corrupt form. THORPE p. 21 reads *Hunberht*.]

**Ibba** mon. Keary p. 27 (Mercia, Offa)<sup>4</sup>.

An ancient gemination form of *Ifa*, q. v. Cf. *Abba*: *Afa*. SCHÖNFELD p. 145.

**Ida**: *Ida* Eopping<sup>5</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 80, *Ida* Geneal. Corp.

<sup>1</sup> ... hec sunt etenim marisci que ad eandem terram rite ac recte pertinent quos *hega* ante abuerat', ... (Kent).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Über die Stammtafel der Westsachsen. Not accessible to me. — Cf. *Hronum* (dat. pl.) Widsith 63 (CHAMBERS p. 210).

<sup>4</sup> *Iba* BCS 52, 1330 refers to Bishop *Ibas* of Edessa in Syria, who died in 457.

<sup>5</sup> King of the Bernicians c. 547–59; cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303.



Chr. 435, 436 (*Oda*, *Ida* Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Ida* List of Kings 1, *Ida* Ann. Wint. 547, *Ida* Ann. Lind. 547, 560, 568, 569, 582, 589, 730, *Ida* Beda HE V 24, *Ida* Nennius ch. 56, 57, 61, 63, *Ida* Chron. 547, 560, 670 A, 685 A, 731 A, *Ida* Aethelweard 547, *Ida* Flor. Worc. 547, p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.); *Ida* mon. Grueber p. 72 (Aelfred).

Probably an original short form of compounds with *Id-* (F 943); such compounds are, however, not on record in OE. Cf. fem. *Ida*, FORSSNER p. 160 f. — Cf. *Iddi*, *Iidi*.

*Ifa* mon. Grueber p. 1 (Ecgbeorht), *Iua* mon. ib. p. 92 (Eadw. the Elder).

According to F 941 (978) a secondary stem, which has originated from compounds such as *Idbald*, *Idbert*. See also FORSSNER p. 169. — Cf. *Ive* (*Ifinc*); *Ibba*.

*Inta* LV 337, *Intan* (gen.) KCD 103 (758)<sup>1</sup>.

MÜLLER p. 56, F 955.

[*Iolla* : *Iola* mon. Grueber pp. 363, 366, *Iola*, *Iolla* ib. p. 332, Hildebrand p. 435 (Eadw. Conf.).

Probably Scand.: OWScand. *Iól*-; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 73. — Cf. *Eola*, *Geola*, *Gol(l)a*, *Iole*.]

[*Iora* mon. Grueber p. 332 (Eadw. Conf.).

Seems to be of Scand. origin; cf. compounds with *Iór*-, OW Scand. *iór* 'stallion', and fem. *Ióra* (LIND). — Cf. *Iorel*.]

[\**Iōda* : *Iōdan* (dat.) BCS 426 (839).

A scribal error for *Dudda*(n), which occurs just below in the same charter and is also found elsewhere in contemporary documents. — Or else we may compare OG *Itha*, *Idda* etc. (F 943); cf. *Ida*.]

*Kiona* LV 480.

Native? *Cian*, adduced as a parallel by MÜLLER p. 50, is Celtic; see DCB s. v.

*Lenna* mon. Grueber p. 182 (Eadgar).

*Lep(p)a* : *Lepa*(?) Keary p. 6; *Leppa* comes, *Leppa* BCS 166 (721—43). Cf. *Leppa* LVD p. 100 (13th cent.).

Perhaps from the stem *lap*, *laf*, *leb* 'schlaff niederhängen, schlaff sein' in, e. g., OE *leppa* 'lappet' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 362 f.)<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also MHG *lape*, *lappe* 'Laffe, einfältiger Mensch' (SOCIN pp. 150, 427). F 1018.

<sup>1</sup> *Yntan* BCS 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. OE *leppan* 'to feed (a hawk)'; see SWAEN, E. St. XXXVII p. 196 f.

**Lilla** minister regi amicissimus, Beda HE II 9, *Lillan* (acc.) ðegn, Chron. 626 E. Cf. *Lialla* mon. Keary p. 46 (Mercia, Burgred).

See *Lil*.

**Luh(h)a** : *Luhan* (acc.) BCS 599 (902), *Luhha* ib. 610 (904; KCD 1083 starred).

From the stem *luh* 'to shine' (TORP, Wortschatz p. 372). Cf. also Celtic-OE *luh* 'loch, pond' (MIDDENDORFF p. 90). F 1030, 1062.

— Cf. *Luhhede*, (*Luhing*).

**Lulla** : *Lulla* BCS 111 (704), *Lullan* (gen.) ib. 149, 150 (732—3), *Lulla* princeps ib. 282 (796), *Lulla* præfectus ib. 300 (801), *Lulla* presbyter, *Lulla* abbas ib. 312 (803), *Lulla* minister ib. 411 (833), *Lulla* ib. 426 (839), *Lulla* miles ib. 460 (850), *Lulla* minister ib. 467 (853), *Lulla* miles ib. 486 (855), *Lulla* ib. 496 (858), 507 (863), *Lulla* minister ib. 519 (868), *Lulla* ib. 538 (874)<sup>1</sup>; *Lulla* mon. Keary pp. 28 (Mercia, Offa), 63 (Burgred), Grueber pp. 30 (Aethelr. I), 58, 74 (Aelfred).

See *Lull*. Some instances given under *Lull* show that *Lulla* and *Lull* were used almost indiscriminately, at least when Latinized.

[\***Mamma**(?) : *Mamman*(?) mon. Keary p. 46 (Mercia, Burgred).

The ending *-an* suggests that the name is Celtic (HOLDER II 400), though it may also be the genitive of a native name \**Mamma*. Cf. OG *Mam(m)o* F 1088. In any case it is probably to be interpreted as a lall-name of the same type as the Latin appellation *mamma* 'mother'<sup>2</sup>. That sense would, however, scarcely fit a masc. name, and it will therefore be most advisable to regard *Mamman* as corrupt. The editor marks the reading as doubtful.]

[**Mauua** Ellis, Intr. II p. 184, *Maua* DB IV p. 619 (Inq. Eliens.).

If not merely a misreading for *Man(n)a*, this is probably an Anglicized form of the Continental name *Mawo* F 1118. Celtic names in *Mav-* (HOLDER II 488) are also possible. — Cf. *Mawa* f.].

**Messa** mon. Keary p. 46 (Mercia, Burgred).

Celtic? See HOLDER II 575 f.

[**Mocca**, **Muc(c)a** : *Moccan* (gen.) BCS 72 (688; KCD 994 starred), *Mocca* ib. 178 (748). — *Muca* abbas ib. 300 (801), *Muca* abb' ib.

<sup>1</sup> BCS 550, quoted in Index Sax., has *Llullan sleð*, *Lullan slæde*.

<sup>2</sup> Whether this is the same word as Lat. *mamma*, OE *mamme* 'teat', is uncertain; see WALDE, Etym. lat. Wb., s. v. Cf. also NED 'mamma'.

312 (803)<sup>1</sup>, *Muca* dux ib. 370 (822), 373 (823); *Muca* aldorman Chron. 822, *Muca* dux Aethelweard 822; *Mucca* LV 172.

All the names above are probably Celtic, though the task of distinguishing between them must be left to Celtologists. See HOLDER II 602 f., 648 f., STOKES p. 218 f., HELLWIG p. 12 f., MÜLLER p. 57, F 1132. — The name(s) might, however, possibly be connected with the Germanic stem *muh*, *mug* 'etwa sich anhäufen(?)'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 325. Cf. also v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna p. 106 f., BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 266, HELLQUIST, Xen. Lid. p. 89. Goth. \**mūks* 'soft', in *mūka-mōdei*, which STEVENSON, Academy, June 2, 1894, p. 536, suggests as the etymon of *Muca*, seems rather improbable. — Cf. *Mucel*.]

**Oba, Ofa, Oua:** *Oba* BCS 101 (699), *Oba* minister ib. 137 (716—7), *Oban* (gen.) ib. 149, 150 (732—3), 152 (734), *Oba* ib. 154 (736), *Oba* comes ib. 157 (723—37), *Obā* minister ib. 163, 164 (716—43), *Obani* ducis ib. 177 (748), *Oba* ib. 380 (824), 404 (c. 833), 507 (863), *Oba* m̃ ib. 538 (874); *Oba* mon. Keary pp. 36 (Mercia, Coenwulf), 40 (Ceolwulf I), 70 (Kent, Baldred), 73 (Canterbury, Wulfred), Grueber p. 6 (Ecgbearht); cf. also *Oban* (gen.)<sup>2</sup> ib. pp. 215, 216, Hildebrand pp. 60, 61, Holm 85 (Aethelr. II), *Obn*(?) mon. Grueber p. 246, Hildebrand p. 278 (Cnut). — *Ofa* princeps, *Ofa* BCS 32 (674?), *Ofa* patricius<sup>3</sup> ib. 162 (742), *Ofa* ib. 501 (c. 860); *Ofa* LV 15, 89, 251, 404, 434, 458. — *Oua* BCS 138 (716—7), 146 (727?), *Ova* suffragator ib. 168 (744); *Ova* Guthlac ch. 16 (c. 710; cf. below). Cf. *Ouus* prepositus Regis, Ellis, Intr. I p. 463, II p. 365.

This name, as well as its geminated form *Offa* (*Obba*), seems to be originally identical with *Uba* (*Ufa*, *Uua*), *Ubba*, *Uffa*, and the whole group is probably to be derived from a base *uḇ*-, which occurs in OHG *uppi* 'maleficus', Goth. *uḇils* 'evil', the tribal name *Uḇii* (see SCHÖNFELD p. 245 and literature there quoted, MUCH, Hoops Reallex. s. v.), and in OWScand. *úfr* 'unfriendly, contentious', Norw. dial. *ubben* 'harsh, wicked, disagreeable', etc. (v. FRIESEN, Mediageminatorna p. 20). The group presents certain formal difficulties. The interchange *U* ~ *O*- is due to *a*-mutation and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Luca* Geneal. Tib. B V 173; HACKENBERG p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GRUEBER p. CVI, HOLM p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "According to LAPPENB.-THORPE and EARLE this was *Offa*, afterwards king of Mercia" (SEARLE p. 364).



levelling out in different directions<sup>1</sup>. The original *\*u̯ba-~\*ōba-* became OE *Ufa* (*Uba*, *Uua*) ~ *Ofa* (*Oba*, *Oua*), and the geminated forms *\*ubba-~\*obba-* developed into OE *Ubba* ~ *Obba*<sup>2</sup>. It is noteworthy that no reliable instance of *Obba* is on record (see below), whereas *Ubba* and the other (later?) geminated forms *Uffa* ~ *Offa* are well evidenced. *Ubba* is recorded from 778 to 901, *Uffa* from 901 to 958, which at least does not contradict the idea that they represent two different stages of gemination. On the other hand, tradition has preserved *Offa* as the name of a Continental Anglian king, while *Obba* is practically not found at all. I cannot offer any explanation of this, and the much debated problem of the etymology of this group can scarcely yet be looked upon as definitely solved. — Further, we have as usual to make allowance for the unreliability of the orthography, and though, for the sake of clearness, geminated forms have here been given under different headings, that does not, of course, imply that they always represent different pronunciations. According to BINZ p. 171, the same man is called *Oba*, *Ofa*, and *Offa*. As regards the spellings above, *Oua* certainly and *Ofa* probably has a medial *-b-* (*-v-*, see BÜLBRING § 484). *Oba* is ambiguous. The instances in BCS belong to two periods: 699—748, 824—74. One might venture a guess that the *Oba* of the earlier period stands for *Ofa* and the *Oba* of the later period for *Obba*. In the case of the moneyers it is also obvious that at least *Oba(n)* under Aethelred II and Cnut cannot be equivalent to *Ofa(n)*. — MÜLLER p. 57, HOLM pp. 46, 54, F 1471, 1474, SOCIN p. 195, WILLIAMS, Anglia XXV p. 420, JESSEN, N. T. f. Fil. 4 R. V p. 123, BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Offa'. — Cf. *Obba*, *Offa*, *Ofe*, *Uba*, *Ufa*, *Uua*, *Ubba*, *Uffa*, *Ufic*, *Ufuc*, *Yffi*, *Yfingus*.

**Obba** Felix, Vita Guthlaci ch. 16 (c. 710; in the Latin text as given in GONSER's edition, p. 153).

See the preceding name. — The instance is obviously of no great value, since the OE version has *Ova* (cf. above). Moreover, SEARLE p. 361 records the name as *Oba* from other editions which are not accessible to me; see GROSS, Sources and lit. of Engl. hist. pp. 176, 286.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably what BINZ p. 171 refers to by his expression "dialektisch verschieden gefärbt".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Abba* : *Afa*.

**Oc(c)a, Oega** etc. : *Occæ* (gen.) qui fuit Idæ<sup>1</sup>, Flor. Worc. 729, *Occa* ib. p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.), *Occ* ib. 547, *Ocg* Iding, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 86, *Ocg* Eating, Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435 (*Ocg* Iding Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Oega* Iding, Chron. 731 A, *Ogga* ib. B, *Ocea* ib. CD, *Ocche* (gen.) Henry Hunt. 737; *Oega* Hengesting<sup>2</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 114, *Oega* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Oega* 'vel Oric' Flor. Worc. p. 248 (geneal. reg. cantwar.). — *Oca* minister BCS 590 (901), *Occa* minister ib. 598 (901), *Ocac* m̃ ib. 602 (903)<sup>3</sup>; *Ocea* miles ib. 567 (892), *Ocea* minister ib. 589<sup>4</sup>, 595<sup>4</sup>, 596<sup>5</sup> (901), 605, 1338 = 605 B (901—4), *Oceoc* minister ib. 597 (901)<sup>6</sup>. Cf. *Ogea*(?) mon. Grueber p. 173 (Eadgar), 196 (Eadw. II). — *Ogga* festermon BCS 1130 (972—92), *Ogga* Lib. Eliens. (quoted from Searle).

The relation between these forms is not clear, and it is possible that *Occa* and *Oega* are originally distinct names, though confusion has taken place in the genealogies. *Occa* is perhaps Celtic; cf. HOLDER II 825 f. *Ogga* in BCS 1130 and Lib. Eliens. may belong to compounds such as *Ogger*, *Oggod* (< *Od-*), for which see FORSSNER p. 200. On the other hand, *Oega* in the genealogies — if that form is genuine, which seems likely — cannot be derived from such Continental compounds, since WGerm. *au* was not contracted into OG *ō* earlier than the 8th cent. (BRAUNE, Ahd. Gr. § 45). For its etymology may be adduced OE *ōga* 'fear, terror, dread' (F 1174, 1177). — The absence of compounds with \**Ocg-* (\**Occ-*)<sup>7</sup> prevents *Oega* : *Occa* from being looked upon as forms analogous to *Ecga* : *Ecce* etc.<sup>8</sup>, though the possibility is, of course, not altogether excluded that the existence of such pairs might have given rise to *Occa*, or vice versâ; this is, however, chiefly a theoretical speculation. — As appears from the instances, *Ocea* is obviously the same man as *Occa*; yet it is worthy of notice that so many cases with *-ea* are found. — Cf. *Ocing*.

**Ofa**, see *Oba*.

**Offa** : *Offa*, legendary king of Angel<sup>9</sup> Beowulf 1949, 1957,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Occa* miles KCD 336.

<sup>4</sup> *Occa* KCD 333, 1078.

<sup>5</sup> *Occa* miles KCD 332.

<sup>6</sup> Misreading; see note BCS II p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> Is *Ogeman* mon. Grueber p. 164 (Eadgar) *Ogea* + *Man* ib.?

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note under *Ceatta*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 84 ff., SEARLE BKN p. 254.

Widsith 35, 37, 38, 44, *Off* . . Uærmunding, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 94, *Offa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Offa* Nennius ch. 60, *Offa* Chron. 626 BC, 755 A, *Offa* Aethelweard 756, *Offa* Flor. Worc p. 251 (geneal. reg. merc.); — *Offa* Bedcing (c. 500)<sup>1</sup> Sax. Geneal. 15, *Offa* Flor. Worc. p. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.); — *Offa*, son of Aethelfrith of Northumbria (c. 600)<sup>2</sup>, Nennius ch. 57, *Offa* Chron. 617 E, *Offa* Flor. Worc. 593, p. 254 (geneal. reg. north.); — *Offa*, king of Essex c. 704—9<sup>3</sup>, Beda HE V 19, *Offa* Sighering, Sax. Geneal. 13, *Offa* Chron. 709, *Offa* Flor. Worc. 708, p. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.), *Offa* rex Merciorum(!) BCS 123 (704—09; KCD 55 starred), *Offa* Orient. Angl. gubernator ib. 125 (709; KCD 61 starred), *Offa* ib. 126 (709), 130 (714! KCD 64 starred), *Offa* rex Orient. Angl. ib. 131 (714!); — *Offa* BCS 153 (723--40); — *Offa*, son of Aldfrith of Northumbria<sup>4</sup>, Sim. Durh. 750; — *Offa*, king of Mercia 757—96<sup>5</sup>, on coins, Keary p. 25—33, *Offa* Laws p. 46, *Offa* ðinefri[ð]ling, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 100, *Offa* ib. 123, *Offa* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436, 437, *Offa* Ann. Wint. 763; *Offa* Alcuin, Epistolæ 3 (786), *Offan* (acc.) ib. 7 (790), *Offanum* (acc.) ib. 63, *Offa* ib. 64 (787—96), 82, *Offanum* (acc.) ib. 85, *Offa* ib. 87 (793—96), *Offae* (gen.) ib. 100, *Offan* (dat.) ib. 101 (796), *Offa* ib. 122, 127 (797); *Offa* Chron. 755 A, 777, 785, 787, 792, 794, 796 E, 836, *Offa* Asser ch. 14, *Offa* Aethelweard 756, 777, 786, 787, *Offa* Ann. Cambr. 778, 795, 796. In BCS his name occurs in the following charters<sup>6</sup>: 79, 116; 183, 187, 188, 189, 195, 196, 197, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 226, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 847 = 234 B, 235, 236, 237, 1334 = 237 B, 239, 240, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 262, 263, 848 = 263 B, 264, 849 = 264 B, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275; 281, 287, 288, 293, 294, 295, 301, 310, 311, 327, 332, 535, 632, 1048, 1351 = 1048 B, 1050, 1135, 1228, 1264, 1320. In 79 (692) and 116 (706) *Offa* is found in confirmations; in 281 (796) and subsequent charters dating from the time after his death his name is of course only men-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254, (DCB IV p. 68).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303, DCB IV p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 278, DCB IV p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 306, DCB IV p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 295, DCB IV p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> See further Index Sax. p. 103.



tioned.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Offa* KCD 722 (1015). — *Offa* LV 217, 228, 340; — *Offe* (dat.) mine suster sone BCS 1008 (957; ME version); — *Offa* Byrhtnoth 5, 198, 230, 286, 288, — *Offa* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 190, 360, *Offo* ib. p. 190. — From later sources SEARLE p. 569 gives two other instances, which are, however, of doubtful authenticity; see PLUMMER, Beda II p. 217.

See *Oba*. — STARK's statement (p. 13) that *Offa* = *Ceolwulf* is due to a misunderstanding; see PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 65. According to SEARLE p. 364, HRUSCHKA takes *Offa* as a pet name for *Osfrith*, which I am not in a position to verify, but though *Offa* has here been connected with *Oba* etc., it may in some cases have originated as a short form of *Osfrith*, *Oftfor* (HACKENBERG p. 105) or similar compounds. It must always be borne in mind that a name very often permits of various interpretations.

[*Oia* mon. Grueber p. 196 (Eadw. II), *Oiga* ib. p. 201, Hildebrand p. 61 (Aethelr. II).

Probably an error for *Boi(g)a*, q. v.]

**Pad(d)a, Peada** etc. : *Padda* presbyter Beda HE IV 13 (c. 681; Transl. p. 417 *Padda, Peadda*); *Padda* Ellis, Intr. II p. 200 (Suff.); — *Peada*<sup>2</sup> Beda HE III 21, 24, V 24 (Transl. p. 285 etc. *Peada*), *Peada* Chron. 653 A, 654 E, 655 A, 656 E, 657 A, 675 E, 'antecessor germanus meus *Peada*' BCS 22 (664), 'memoriae fratres mei *Peada*' ib. 48 (c. 680), = *Pada*, name in runes on coins, Keary p. 23, *Peada* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436, *Peada* Flor. Worc. 653, 655, p. 252 (geneal. reg. merc.), *Peda* Henry Hunt. II 34 etc., *Weda* Will. Malm. ch. 74, 75 (cf. PLUMMER, Beda II p. 175).

Whether these forms represent one or several names, their Germanic origin is very questionable. KEMBLE, Names p. 85, marks *Padda* in Bede as Celtic,<sup>3</sup> and probably the same holds good of *Padda* in DB, though in this case late OE *pad(d)e* 'toad, frog' might also be thought of.<sup>4</sup> Penda's son is generally called *Peada*, but it would seem that *Pāda* on the coins is the genuine form, which then underwent Mercian *a*-mutation c. 700, i. e. before the time Bede wrote his history (BÜLBRING §§ 226, 231, LUICK, Hist.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ego *Offa*' etc. in BCS 327 (808) must be a forgery. KCD 193 is starred.

— Cf. *Qffan pól*, given as an instance in Index. Sax.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Penda; king of the Middle Angles and South Mercians, died c. 656. Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BÜLBRING § 127.

<sup>4</sup> ODan. *Paddi* (? NIELSEN) is doubtful.

Gr. § 231). The two charters from the 7th cent. in which *Peada* occurs are starred as spurious in KCD (484, 990). The circumstance that this purely Mercian form was afterwards adopted even in WSax. is by no means extraordinary; cf. *Beadu-*, *Aelf-*. With the etymology of *Pāda* may be compared Celtic *Pādus* (HOLDER II 920). KEMBLE, Names p. 100, translates *Pada* "with a tunic" (: OE *pād* 'covering, coat, cloak'), but the later form with *-ea-* points to a short *-ǣ-*. A Germanic theme *\*pauð-* is not found, as far as I know.

**P(a)ega** : *Pæga* abbas, *Pega* abbod BCS 312 (803); *Pega* LV 337.<sup>1</sup>

MÜLLER p. 58, SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words p. 213 f., HOLDER II 962 — Cf. *Pege* f.

**Passa** BCS 91 (716).

Scarcely native.

**Peota** presbyter BCS 359 (817), 462 (851; KCD 266 starred).

See *Peot*; it is almost certain that *Peota* BCS 359 is the same man as *Peot* ib. 357.

**Peufa** LV 216.

See *Peuf*.

**Pinca** BCS 4, 5, *Pinca* regis optimas ib. 6 (605; KCD 2, 3, 4 starred).

This name is perhaps to be connected with a word that is recorded only once in OE : *on pincan* 'in puncto' (Napier, OE Gl. 3683). BOSWORTH-TOLLER and CLARK HALL give *\*pynca* as the normal form, deriving it from OE *pyngan* 'to prick' < Lat. *pungere*, but the word is more likely identical with E Fris. *pink* 'penis', Dutch *pink* 'little finger', Norw. dial. *pink* 'mountain top' etc.; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 218, FALK - TORP, Etym. Wb. 'pinke', FRANK, Etym. Wb. 'pink'. In the 11th cent. it is found as a byname : Sewine *Pinca* Thorpe p. 632<sup>2</sup>. Celtic according to STARK p. 3. — Cf. *Pincen* f.

[**Pionna** "rex", Aethelweard 658, is a wrong translation of the place-name *æt Peonnum* Chron. 658; see PLUMMER, Chron. II p. 28. That a similar (Celtic?) personal name existed seems, however, to be proved by the patronymic (?) Dunstan *Peoning* Thorpe p. 635 (11th cent.).]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Paga* (c. 685) Anon. Vita Cuthb. (quoted from Searle), and *Paraga* BCS 111 (704).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxfordshire p. 165.

**Piuda** LV 119.

MÜLLER p. 58, WREDE, Wand. p. 75.

**PI(o)esa** : *Ploesa* dux BCS 328 (802), 341 (812), *Plesa* dux ib. 338 (811; KCD 197 starred).

Possibly from the stem, with an original sense of 'plump, swollen', that occurs in Swed. dial. *plös* 'a fat and bloated person' (RIETZ) etc.; see FALK-TORP, Etym. Wb. 'pludskjævet', 'pløs', TORP, Nynorsk etym. ordb. 'pløsa'.

**Podda** episcopus Mertiorum<sup>1</sup> BCS 174 (747), *Podda* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 49, *Podda* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433 (*Dodda* Geneal. Tib. B V 170), *Podda* Flor. Worc. p. 238 (præsul. herefordens.). : NE dial. *pod* 'a little person', *pud* 'a plump healthy child' (EDD)? See BJÖRKMAN, I. F. XXX p. 267. Cf. also ME *podde* ~ *padde* 'paddock'.

**Puda** KCD 75 (727)<sup>2</sup>, *Puda* BCS 194 (759—65).

If not merely a mistake for *Wuda*, q. v., then this name is connected with the stem *pud-* 'to swell, bulge' in OE *puduc* 'struma, wen, wart'; see NED 'pudding'. Cf. Ailword *Pudding* Thorpe pp. 634, 636 (11th cent.), and the preceding name.

**Put(t)a** : *Putan* (gen.) BCS 141 (724; KCD 72 starred); *Putta* episcopus<sup>3</sup> ib. 28 (672), *Putta* episcopus Hrofescaestir ib. 30 (673), *Putta* Rofensis episcopus ib. 48 (680), *Putta* episcopus ib. 57 (681), *Putta* Beda HE IV 2, 5 (var. *Put*a), 12, *Putta* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 10, 49, *Putta* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 430, 433, *Putta* biscop of Rofecestre Chron. 675 E, *Putta* Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 14, *Putta* Chad p. 142; *Putta* præpositus BCS 455 (849), *Putta* ib. 490 (855), *Putta* prepositus ib. 616 (907). Cf. *Poutte* bishop (Crediton) ib. 732 (ME).

Given by STARK p. 3, HOLDER II 1055 as Celtic(?) Otherwise the name may be connected with NE *put* (see NED, vb.<sup>1</sup>) and that group. Belonging to the same stem as *Puda*? (TORP, Wortschatz p. 219).<sup>4</sup> — Cf. *Puttuc*, *Pyttel*.

**Pybba** etc. : *Pypba* Crioding, king of Mercia c. 593—606<sup>5</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 91, *Pybba* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, Penda

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Hereford c. 741—50; SEARLE BKN p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuda* BCS 146.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Rochester c. 666—76, of Hereford 676—c. 682; SEARLE BKN pp. 14, 106. Cf., however, PLUMMER, Beda II p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Engl. *put* 'a stupid man, silly fellow'; origin unascertained (NED sb.<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 290.



filii *Pybba*, Eoua filius *Pippa* Nennius ch. 65, *Pubba* ib. ch. 60, *Pybba* Creodring, Chron. 626 BC, 755 A, *Wibbæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 627, *Wybbæ* (gen.) ib. 755, *Pybba* ib. 251 (geneal. reg. merc.), *Wipha* Henry Hunt. 593, *Wibba* ib. 626, *Wippa* ib. 596, 755, *Pibba* Will. Malm. 626.

The genuine forms are undoubtedly the ones with *P-*, and the others are due to misreading by the scribes. For etymological suggestions, see under *Peuf*. Cf. also STARK p. 122, MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf p. 70.

**Pymma** LV 84.

MÜLLER p. 58.

**Rippa** DB IV p. 612 (Exon.).

Perhaps Celtic; see HOLDER II 1192 f. The substitution of *Rippa(n)* for *Hrypp*, q. v., Nennius ch. 59, also speaks in favour of Celtic origin. If the name is really Germanic it may belong to OE *ripan* 'to reap', *ripe* 'ripe'; see NED and TORP, Wortschatz p. 344. — F 1278. — Cf. *Rippe*.

**Rudda** LV 412.

Various etymologies suggested by MÜLLER p. 58; the most plausible one seems OE *rudu* 'red colour, ruddy complexion'.

**Ruta** BCS 159 (738), 175 (747).

Celtic? See HOLDER II 1256 f. — OG *Ruta*, *Rudda* are given by F 887 under *Hrôthi*.

[*Særla* portgereua Thorpe p. 635 (11th cent.).

Probably the same name as *Serlo* etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 116). — Cf. *Særle*.]

**Seuua** LV 164.

The vowel makes a connection with OE *sæ* 'sea' doubtful [*der zur See sich auszeichnende*] (!) MÜLLER p. 139]. The stem *\*sewa-* suggested by MÜLLER p. 59 as an alternative is otherwise unknown. Perhaps not Germanic; cf. HOLDER II 1531.

**Sledda** etc. : *Sle(dd)* Aesewining, King of Essex 587—<sup>1</sup>, Sax. Geneal. 14, *Sledda* Flor. Worc. p. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.), *Slede* Henry Hunt. II 19, *Sledda* Will. Malm. ch. 98.

Belonging to the stem *\*slad-* 'slide' in OE *slæd* 'valley, glade', and cognate words? Cf. TORP, Wortschatz p. 535, Nynorsk etym. ordb. 'slad'. — F 1348.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 274.

\***Snocca** : *Snoccan* (gen.) BCS 72 (688), 89 (696; KCD 994, 40 starred.)

MAWER, Ess. and Stud. IV p. 68, connects this name with the word *snoca* that occurs in OE place-names and is still preserved in NE dial. *snook* 'pointed projection, projecting headland'. Since the instances of \**Snocca* date from the 7th cent., OWScand. *snókr*<sup>1</sup> cannot be thought of in this case, but this word occurs probably in the byname *Eduuardus Snoch* Ellis, Intr. II p. 218. Cf. further TORP, Wortschatz p. 518 f.

**Snyda** presbyter BCS 379 (824).

: OE *snūd* 'speed', *snūde* 'quickly'. — F 1352.

**Soca** minister BCS 1044 (959).

: OE *socc* 'sock' (Lat. *soccus*), if not Scand., which seems more likely, since many Scand. names occur in this charter. *Sokki* is often recorded in OWScand. (LIND) and also as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 239). Cf., however, Leuvinus *Socca* DB IV p. 613 (Exon.); see also HOLDER II 1595.

**Sodda** minister KCD 729 (1019).

Possibly an agential noun from OE *sēoðan* 'to seethe, boil', just as *-loga* from *lēogan* (KLUGE, Stammbildungslehre § 15). The Prim. Germ. form \**suða-* must in this case have undergone hypocoristic gemination and so become *Sodda*. JÓNSSON p. 286 associates the OW Scand. byname *soddi* with *sod* 'broth' (cf. OE *gesod* 'cooking, boiling'), from the verb *sjóða* = *sēoðan*.

[**Spieta** Ellis, Intr. II p. 226 (Suff.).

Evidently a corrupt form. For *Swieta* = *Sweta*? Or *Spila*? Or OWScand. *spjóti* (byname)? Or related to OE *spittan*, *spātan* 'to spit'?

**Sunta** : *Sunta* (gen.) sune BCS 1130 (972—92).

To be connected with *Sundus*, q. v.?

**Swæppa** Antsecging<sup>2</sup>, Sax. Geneal. 15, *Swæppa* Flor. Worc. p. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.).

Perhaps a short form of compounds such as *Suaebhard* Beda HE V 8; cf. MÜLLENHOFF, Nordalb. Stud. I p. 138, Deutsche Altertums. IV p. 526. See further under *Swafa*.

**Tepra** princeps BCS 32 (674?), *Tepra* ib. 157 (723—37).

Scarcely native.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254. In Henry Hunt. (p. 49) his place is taken by *Spoewe*.

\**Ticcea* etc. : *Ticcean* (gen.) BCS 108 (704; KCD 50 starred), *Tyccæan* abbatis ib. 181 (756—7), *Tyccan* (gen.) ib. 260 (765—91), *Tyccæa* BL 129 (755—86). Cf. also *Tica*, *Tican*, *Tictan* (753—60) abb. Glast., given by Searle p. 451, and *Wiccea* Geneal. Tib. B V 173 (HACKENBERG p. 16).

When the same person (?) is called *Tyccæa* and *Tica*, nothing can of course be stated as to the quantity and quality of the vowel, or the palatalization of the medial consonant. Possibly the name might be connected with the OE nonce-word *ticia*, which is regarded as an error for *\*tiica* or *\*ticca*; see NED 'tick' sb.<sup>1</sup>. After all, the Germanic origin of this name seems rather doubtful; cf. HOLDER II 1834.

**Tigga** BCS 91 (716).

From compounds such as *Tidgar*? More likely Celtic; see HOLDER II 1841 f.

[**Toc(c)a** etc., see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 142 f., Namenk. p. 83; cf. also HOLDER II 1865.]

[**To(c)ga** : *Toga* mon. Grueber pp. 212, 229, Hildebrand p. 126 (Aethelr. II), *Toga* minister KCD 730 (1019); — *Tocga* mon. Keary pp. 76, 77 (Canterbury, Ceolnoth).

It would seem that the non-geminated form is OE *-toga* 'leader', but according to GRUEBER p. 526 the spelling *Toga* on Aethelred's coins stands for *Toca*, q. v., and presumably the same is true of KCD 730. *Tocga*, on the other hand, is too early an instance to be connected with the Scand. (Anglicized) name *Toc(c)a*, and though its derivation from native speech material is not altogether excluded, I should prefer to look upon it as Celtic; cf. HOLDER II 1866 ff.]

[**Tola**, see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 143, Namenk. p. 84.]

[**Ton(n)a** : *Tona* Ellis, Intr. I p. 494, II p. 240, *Tonna* ib. II p. 240.]

The locality — chiefly Yorksh., Linc. — points to Scand. origin; see *Ton(n)e*. Cf. also Holder II 1887 ff.]

**Trecea** 'name on a memorial cross at Hackness' Yorksh. Archæol. Journ. III p. 380 (quoted from Searle).

[**Tridda** Aethelweard 593 is a mistake for *Crida*; see Chron. the same year, and PLUMMER's note ib. II p. 18.]

[**Trota** : *Trota* mon. Holm 487, *Trotan* (gen.) Grueber p. 277, Hildebrand p. 245 (Cnut).

The etymology suggested by HOLM p. 65 is not convincing.



Probably Celtic; cf. HOLDER II 1969, EKWALL, Scandinavians and Celts p. 19.]

**Tuc(c)a** : *Túca* BCS 437 (841); *Tucca* ib. 426 (839), *Tucca* Lib. Eliens. (c. 975; quoted from Searle).

This name (these names?) may be Celtic (HOLDER II 1975 ff.), Scand. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 143), or even, though less likely, Cont.-Germ. (BRUCKNER p. 97, F 431). If really native, does it belong to OE *tucian* 'to disturb, ill-treat, torment, punish'? Or perhaps to ME *tucken* 'to tuck, draw', which is a MLG loan-word, an intensive form of Prim. Germ. *\*teuhan-*, OE *tēon* 'to draw'.

**Tuffa** Ellis, Intr. II p. 243.

Unless *T-* stands for *Th-*, a connection with OE *þūf* 'tuft, banner, standard, crest' and OG (Lat.?) *Tufa* seems improbable. Cf. F 1399, SCHÖNFELD p. 243 and literature there quoted. — Cf. *Tuf*.

**Tulla** LV 96.

Probably a lall-name. See further MÜLLER p. 60, F 1400, HOLDER II 1982 f. — Cf. *Tulling*.

**Tutta** LV 159, 160, *Tutta* minister BCS 439 (842).

Belonging to a group dealt with by v. FRIESEN, *Mediageminatorna* p. 96, and including, among other words, OW Scand. *tuttr* 'tom-thumb'. MÜLLER p. 61. — Cf. *Tot(t)a*; *Tutel*, *Tytil*, *Tyttla*.

**Tyrdða** comes BCS 183 (c. 757; KCD 102 starred).

From the stem of OE *tord* 'dung, filth', *tyrd(e)lu* 'droppings, small pieces of excrements'? — KEMBLE, Names p. 101.

**Uba, Ufa, Uua** : *Uban* (gen.) BCS 196 (765), 227 (778)<sup>1</sup>, 260 (765–91), KCD 144 (781; starred)<sup>2</sup>; — *Ufa* comes BCS 301 (801)<sup>3</sup>, *Ufa* ib. 557 (888), *Vfa* minister ib. 590 (901)<sup>4</sup>, *Ufa* ib. 648 (925–41), *Ufa* minister ib. 1023, 1036, *Ufa* ib. 1043 (958), *Ufan* (dat.) ib. 1297 (973); — *Uua* vicecomes ib. 1092 (962; KCD 493 starred), *Vua* dux Cal. Doc. 501 (964); *Uua* Lib. Eliens. (c. 1000; quoted from Searle).

See *Oba*. — In some late instances we have perhaps an Anglicization of Scand. *Ufi*; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 165.

<sup>1</sup> Among the signatories of this charter there is also *Ubba*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aban* BCS 242.

<sup>3</sup> 'quam... terram *Qffa* rex olim dedit cuidam comiti suo nomine *Ufa*.'

<sup>4</sup> In the same list of names we find *Uffa* minister (another person).

**Ubba** : *Ubban* (gen.) BCS 227 (778), 255, 257 (789), *Ubba* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Ubba* ib. 274 (793—6), *Ubba* minister ib. 565 (891), *Ubba* ib. 591 (901). *Uoba* dux ib. 269 (794), probably an error for *Ubba*. — *Ubba* Chron. 870 F was a Danish chieftain, though Sim. Durh. calls him 'dux Fresonum'; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 165, FORSSNER pp. XLVII, 236.

See *Oba*.

**Ufa**, see *Uba*.

**Uffa** : *Uffa* minister BCS 585, 589, 590, 595 (901), 611 (904), 620, 621 (909), *Uffa* clericus ib. 622 (909), *Uffa* minister ib. 623, 624, 626, 629 (909), 1037 (958). — *Uffa* Beda HE Transl. p. 187 stands for *Yffi*, q. v., and *Uffa* in Henry Hunt. 571 etc. for *Wuffa*, q. v. (cf. KOEGEL, I. F. IV p. 314).

See *Oba*.

**Usca** mon. Keary p. 130 (St. Eadmund).

Is this to be associated with the compound *Uuscfrea* Beda HE II 14 etc. (related to OE *wýscan* 'to wish', *wūschearn* 'dear little child'), or with Celtic *Uscus* HOLDER III 49? Cf. further under *Alus*.

**Utta** presbyter Beda HE III 15, 21, *Utta* LV 78, 162, 215, 219, 230, 291.

MÜLLER p. 61, HOLDER III 57. — Cf. *Ut(t)el*, *Utol*.<sup>1</sup>

[**Was(s)o** : *Waso*. *Wasso* KCD 981, *Waso* Ellis, Intr. II p. 265 (Cornw.), *Waso* DB IV p. 614 (Exon.).

Evidently Celtic; see HOLDER III 122. Cf. also F 1547, FORSSNER pp. 111, 248.]

**Winta** : *Winta* Wodning<sup>2</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 109, *Winta* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Winta* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. lindisfar.).

Perhaps an original short name belonging to the same stem as OG *Windo* etc. F 1617. Cf. FORSSNER p. 257.

**Uychga** LV 167.

SWEET's reading \**Uydiga* (OET p. 158) seems quite arbitrary. Cf. BINZ p. 212, MÜLLER p. 75.

**Ycca** LV 214.

MÜLLER p. 62, F 1472.

**Ylla** LV 338.

MÜLLER p. 63, F 1476.

<sup>1</sup> *Utti* mon. (Eadw. Conf.) is probably of Scand. origin; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 326.

## 2. Feminine.

The majority of these names are fem. equivalents of the masc. names in *-a* dealt with above. The weak fem. ending *-e* often occurs in a Latinized form as *-a*<sup>1</sup>, which in some cases may possibly reflect the strong fem. ending *-u*, *-o*. This can, however, scarcely be ascertained, and since *-e* is the most common, not to say the specific, fem. ending, all fem. names in *-a* have been given below.

### A.

With regard to the origin of the following names it must be assumed that fem. names in *-e* might sometimes have been coined on the analogy of the corresponding masc. short names<sup>2</sup>, and not from fem. full names. This possibility is to be taken into account especially in the cases of those short names of which only masc. compounds are recorded, but no fem. ones.<sup>3</sup> As, however, it may be only an accident that no fem. compounds are preserved, it has been thought advisable to include even such names under *A*.

Thus, for instance, *Lēofe* may have originated : 1. as a short form of *Lēofgifu* etc.; 2. as a fem. parallel to masc. *Lēofa*; 3. direct from the adjective *lēof*.

### a. Intelligible.

**Beage** BCS 166 (721—43).

: *Bēag-*, OE *bēag* 'ring'. — F 252.

[**Bercta** etc., see FORSSNER p. 46, MÜLLER p. 63. Though the first bearer of this name on OE soil was of Frankish origin, it is of course imaginable that in other cases *Beorhte* was coined as a short form of native fem. compounds with *Beorht-*. Cf. *Berht*.]

**Bote** KCD 782 (1046).

See *Bota*.

<sup>1</sup> *-a* may also be North.; see SIEVERS, *AgS. Gr.* § 276, *anm.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, applies to fem. *B*-names as well. — OE compound names are not »movierbar»; cf. SCHRÖDER, 46. *Philologenversamml.* p. 34 f., WAGNER, *Namengeb. in Köln* p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. compound masc. names in which the stem of the fem. short name is the first member.



[**Cyne** BCS 404 (833) is probably nothing but a scribal mistake for *Cyneðryð*, which occurs three times in this charter as the name of the same person as *Cyne*. Cf. *Cyne* m.]

**Dunne, -a** : *Dunne* Dei famula BCS 156 (736—7), *Dunnan* (dat.) famula dei ib. 217 (774)<sup>1</sup>, *Dunne* abb(atissæ) ib. 411 [773 (883)]; *Dunna* (acc.) Thorpe p. 638 (11th cent.).

See *Dunn*.

**Ealde** etc. : *Ealde* Lib. Eliens. II 7 (c. 975.; quoted from Searle). *Aldi* quædam femina Ellis, Intr. II p. 281 is perhaps only a careless spelling for *Aldid*, *Aldgid* = (*E*)*aldgyth* (Ellis, Intr. II pp. 13, 14). *Alta* BCS 1007 (11th cent.) probably belongs here; cf. *Altsig* = (*E*)*aldsige* Haddan-Stubbs III p. 635.

See *Ealda*.

**Gode, -a** : *Godan* (dat.) KCD 694 (c. 995), *Gode* ib. 782 (1046), 869 (c. 1050), 1339 (after 1055); 'sororem Eadwardi regis, *Godam* nomine' Flor. Worc. 1051; *Gode*, *Goda* Ellis, Intr. I p. 425, II pp. 119, 120; note especially '*Goda* Comitissa, soror Regis Edwardi' ib. II p. 119.

See *God*. — The real name of Edward the Confessor's sister was *Godgifu*; see FREEMAN NC II p. 130, SEARLE BKN p. 351. Cf. also *Aeilgyu* *gode* Thorpe p. 638 (11th cent.).

**Golde** KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Golda*.

**Hilda**, see *Hild* f.

**Hwite** : *Huitae* LV 28, *Hwite* KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Hwita*. MÜLLER p. 63.

\***Leofe** : *Leua* Ellis, Intr. II p. 158. Cf. also *Lioba* = *Liobgyth*, *Leofgyth* Searle p. 328.

See *Leof*.

**Lufa**, see *Lufu*.

**Milda** Ellis, Intr. II p. 186.

: *Mild-*, OE *milde* 'mild'. MÜLLER p. 107, F 1124, BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 62.

**Suitha** abbatissa BL 128 (755—86).

See *Suitha*.

**Tate** : *Tatae* Beda HE II 9, *Tatae* LV 28; *Tate* KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Tata*. Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 259.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the context that *Dunne* lived in the 7th cent.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Aeffe** BCS 678 (931).

See *Aeffa*. — *Affa*, uxor *Alfelmi*, BCS 1062 (c. 960) is probably only a Latinized form of this name.

**Beonne** BCS 384 (825).

See *Beonnu*.

**Bucge, -a** etc. : *Bucgan* (dat.) BCS 156 (736—7)<sup>1</sup>; *Bugge*, Centwine filia regis, Aldhelm, in Migne, Patr. Lat. 89, 289; Heaburg cognomento *Buggae*<sup>1</sup> BL 14 (719—22), *Bugga* ib. 15 (720—22), *Buggan* abbatissæ ib. 27 (725?), *Buggan* (dat.) ib. 94 (723—55), *Bugge* abbatissa ib. 105 (748—55), *Buggan* (gen.) ib. 117 (759—65); *Bucgan* (gen.) BCS 209, *Bugegan* (gen.) ib. 210 (772).

In the letters from Boniface *Bucge, -a* is a short form of *Eadburga*, or *Heaburga* (OE *burg* 'fort, castle, borough', MÜLLER p. 121, F 346), but in other cases the origin may be different. Cf. KEMBLE, Names p. 96, GRIMM, D. Gr. III p. 671, STARK pp. 14, 151, STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. IV p. 354 note 2, Crawf. chart. p. 56, BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loan-words p. 157, note 1, SUNDÉN, Hypocor. suff. -y p. 145, note 2.

**Dudde** KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Dudd*.

**\*Hune** : *Hunan* (dat.) BCS 995 (957).

See *Hun*.

**Tibba** Chron. 963 E.<sup>2</sup>

See *Tibba*.

## B.

## a. Intelligible.

**\*Crawe** : *Crawa* (dat.) BCS 1288, *Crawan* (gen.) ib. 1289 (972); *Crowe* (ME) ib. 1354 = 1288 B.

: OE *crāwe* 'crow'. Cf. KEMBLE, Names p. 95, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 87, Namenk. p. 58, Anglia Beibl. 1918 p. 239 f., MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 237.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DCB I p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> 'He nam úp... S. *Tibba* þe læi in Rihala'. She seems to have lived in the 7th cent. Cf. CAMDEN, Britannia p. 470, HARDY, Descript. Catal. I p. 370 ('sive *Tilba*').

**Culfre** BCS 587 (901).

: OE *culfre* 'pigeon, dove'. Cf. the preceding name.

**Duuua** Ellis, Intr. II p. 77 (Essex).

: ME *dūve* 'dove'; the word is not recorded in OE unless as the first element in *dūfe-doppa* 'pelican'. Cf. OW Scand. *Dúfa*, which LIND distinguishes from the byname *dúfa* (JÓNSSON p. 308, KAHLE p. 233). The Celtic stem *dubo-* 'dark, black' is scarcely to be taken into account here (F 431). Cf. the preceding name.

**Nunnae** LV 19.

: OE *nunne* 'nun', < Lat. *nonna*, originally a lall-word (WALDE, Lat. etym. Wb. s. v.). For other possible derivations see MÜLLER pp. 40, 63, F 1172. — Cf. *Nunna*.

### b. Unintelligible.

**Acha**, sister of Eadwine<sup>1</sup>, Beda HE III 6, *Acha* Flor. Worc. p. 254 (gen. reg. north.), *Acca* Will. Malm. ch. 47.

Perhaps corresponding to a W Sax. form \**Eahhe*, as SWEET suggests OET p. 494. If, however, we start from a WGerm. base *Ahh-* (see *Echha*), the absence of breaking in *Acha* is not easy to account for, since breaking took place at a very early date; cf. BÜLBRING § 130, anm. 3, LUICK, Hist. Gr. § 291. The spelling *Acca* in Will. Malm. does not, of course, prove anything as to the original character of the consonant; *Acha* (masc.) in BCS 551, on the other hand, seems to stand for *Acca*, q. v.

**Aebbe**, -a etc. : *Aebbae* (gen.) abbatissae<sup>2</sup> Beda HE IV 19, (*Aebban* þære abbudissan Transl. p. 442), 25, *Abbe* Beda, Cuthb. ch. 10, *Aebbe* Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 37, *Aebbae* ib. ch. 39, *Aebbae* Fridegoda, Wilfr. v. 880, *Aebbe* Flor. Worc. 593; cf. *Ebbe* Will. Malm. Gesta Pontificum ch. 101; *Aebbæ* (dat.) abbatissæ BCS 35, 40, 41 (675), 42 (676), *Aebbæ*, *Eabbæ* (dat.) abbatissæ ib. 86 (694), *Eebbe* (dat.) abbatissæ ib. 96 (697), *Aebba* abbatissa ib. 99 (699)<sup>3</sup>; *Aebba*, mother of Leofgyth, BL 29 (c. 725); *Aebbe* LV 23. SEARLE p. 4 also gives one 'Aebbe, -a abbess (c. 710) Guthlac roll 3, called *Aelfthryth* in Felix Vita Guthl.', and one 'Aebbe, -a abbess Coldingham (9th cent.)', but I cannot verify these instances.

See *Aebba*, *Abba*. — MÜLLER p. 63.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Abbess of Coldingham, died c. 683; cf. SEARLE BKN p. 303, DCB II p. 22, PLUMMER, Beda II p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> All these charters are starred by KEMBLE.



**Aette** (gen.) abbatisse BCS 91 (696; var. *Aete*).

See *Atta*.

**Bebba** regina, Beda HE III 6<sup>1</sup>, 16, *Bebbab* Nennius ch. 63.

Probably a secondary stem. F 299.

**Buhi** KCD 1354 (11th cent.).<sup>2</sup>

If SEARLE'S reading \**Buge* is correct, the name ought to be connected with *Buga*, q. v.

**Duhchae** BL 122 (760—78).

Native?

**Eabae**, queen of the South Saxons<sup>3</sup>, Beda HE IV 13; *Eafe* abbatissa BCS 535 (872).

See *Eaba*, *Eafa*.

\***Eta** : *Etan* (gen.) BCS 167 (729—44).

**Hilla** Christi ancilla BCS 168 (744; KCD 92 starred).

From compounds with *Hild*-.? Cf. F 817.

**Lulle** matrona BCS 575 (897), *Lulle* KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Lull*.

[**Mawa** Lib. Eliens. II 16 (quoted from Searle).

See *Manua*.]

**Pege** etc. : *Pege* Guthlac ch. 20, *Pegan* (dat.) ib. ch. 22 (Felix' Latin text has *Pegam*, *Pegae*), *Pcgean* (gen.) Herzfeld, Martyrology p. 16, *Pegiæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 714.<sup>4</sup>

See *P(a)ega*.

**Seoloe** KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Seolca*.

**Tela** Ellis, Intr. II p. 238.

From the same stem as *Tella*, q. v.?

<sup>1</sup> 'Denique in urbe regia, quae a regina quondam uocabulo *Bebba* cognominatur',... Cf. Transl. p. 210 : ... 'þa cynelican burhg. þe mon nemneþ *Bebbanburh*',... See PLUMMER, Beda II p. 141, SEARLE BKN p. 302, TAYLOR, Names, s. v. 'Bamborough'.

<sup>2</sup> *Buke* Thorpe p. 651.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. DCB IV p. 280.

### III. Names in -i (-e).

(masc.)

Masc. names in -i (-e) occur rather frequently in OE, but especially in this group it is often difficult to ascertain which are to be regarded as genuine native names, and which are to be set aside as foreign or corrupt.

The *i*-names in LV are undoubtedly genuine, but the later the instances are, the greater is the fluctuation between *i*- and *e*-forms, between mutated and non-mutated forms. The unstressed OE -i became -e about 750 (SIEVERS, *Anglia* XIII p. 13 ff.), and that this was the regular development in names as well, will be seen from a comparison between the *i*-forms in Bede's Latin HE and the corresponding *e*-forms in the OE translation<sup>1</sup>. But several *e*-forms are recorded before 750, and many *i*-forms from the following centuries.<sup>2</sup> The apparently early *e*-forms are probably due to copyists, and the late *i*-forms may, of course, partly be ascribed to traditional spelling, but the above-mentioned translation of Bede shows that we must not attach too much importance to this. The problem is obviously connected with the immigration of Scand. names that took place in late OE times. The OScand. equivalent of the OE weak *a*-names is, as is known, the names in -i, -e (< Prim. Scand. -ā), in addition to which the *ja*-stems in -ir, -er are to be noted. On English soil these foreign names usually retain their ending -i (more seldom -e), though it is sometimes replaced by OE -a. In most cases they can easily be distinguished from the native names<sup>3</sup>, but not infrequently the nationality is very difficult, not to say impossible, to decide.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., *Ini*, *Aelli*, *Hæddi*, *Saebbi*, *Aecci*, *Bisi*, *Yffi*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for instance, 22 *i*-forms and 3 *e*-forms are found before 700, and during the period after 1000 17 *i*-forms and 31 *e*-forms (approximately).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 195 ff.

BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 201, note 4, gives such instances of English-Scand. name pairs as *Abba* ~ *Abbe*, *Bubba* ~ *Bubbe* etc.; it must be noted, however, that formally — unless other reasons support Scand. origin — the latter may just as well be native as the former. The criterion of Scand. origin BJÖRKMAN lays down Pers. p. 195 "the ending -i (-ig) with non-mutated vowel in the stem syllable" is not always to be trusted.<sup>1</sup> The absence of *i*-mutation is, of course, due to the influence of similar non-mutated names (cf. below), and the ending -*i*, when found in late native names, may be explained from the co-existence of native names in -*e* and Scand. names in -*i*. It is not very surprising that the scribes confused them, especially in DB. In that document we are at times perhaps also concerned with original *a*-names which have developed into *e*-names. Moreover, the sex of the bearer cannot always be determined, e. g. *Gode* Ellis, Intr. II p. 120. In such doubtful cases *e*-names have been given as masc.

Under these circumstances the material brought together in this section must necessarily be more than usually uncertain. Several of the names discussed in the following pages in all probability belong to some of the non-genuine categories, but when I have not been able to verify their non-English provenance or corrupt nature, it has been thought most advisable to include them here.

To pass over to the genuine *i*-names, the question arises what is their real character. The ending -*i* corresponds to OHG -*i* in *Ruodi*, *Sigi*, *Waldi* etc. (F 939), which, according to FICK p. XXVII, is a contracted *ja*-stem and does not represent an original suffix *i*; its equivalent in Greek is *ι-ς* < *ιο-ς*, in Sanskrit *iya* (= *ia*). According to STARK, pp. 53 ff., 99, the *i*-names are diminutives, whereas PETERS, Germania XVI p. 103, like FICK, regards them as *ja*-stems without any diminutive sense.<sup>2</sup> MÜLLER p. 140 interprets the *i*-names as chiefly diminutives, but adds the remark that the original meaning of the suffix was probably not equally clear in all cases, which opinion I feel most inclined to agree with. It is scarcely possible to decide exactly the character of these names. It would seem, however, that in historical OE times -*i*

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned that Prof. BJÖRKMAN himself, on being asked, admitted the untenability of this criterion. — For the ME period it was also pointed out by BINZ, Anglia Beibl. 1912 p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also WREDE, Ostg. pp. 181, 194.



had much the same function as the more common ending *-a*<sup>1</sup>, and accordingly the *i*-names have here been placed between the *a*-names and the diminutive names. On the whole, the distinction often made between hypocoristic names and diminutive names seems to me — from an onomatological point of view — rather unimportant; it is chiefly of a formal nature.<sup>2</sup>

Like the diminutives dealt with in the next chapter, the *i*-names appear to have been usually formed from names of the weak *a*-type or from strong names (I). *Dudd(a)* might thus be termed the primary name of *Dudde*, *Duddel*, *Dyddel*, *Duddac*, *Dudecil*, *Dudig*, *Duduc*, *Duduca*, *Duducol*, (*Duding*). An investigation into the matter shows that for the majority of *i*-names and diminutive names such primary names are actually recorded, both in groups *A* and *B*.<sup>3</sup> This does not, of course, mean that an *i*-name could not have been formed direct from the full name; cf. *Tyrhtel* : *Torhthere* etc., where the supposed intermediate form is lacking. Further the occurrence of original formations is to be taken into consideration.

From the above it will be clear that in the case of *i*-names and diminutive names the arrangement in *A*- and *B*-groups has a significance slightly differing from that in the preceding chapters. The classification of a name as an *A*-name certainly implies, as before, that its stem is found as a member in a compound name, but here we have in the first place to start from the primary name (which in this case is of course an *A*-name as well), and only in the second place to pay attention to the full name that forms the basis of the primary name. That the intermediate primary name is now and then not recorded, has just been exemplified.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When we sometimes find *i*- and *a*-forms used in referring to the same person, as in the case of *Ini* ~ *Ina*, *Sebbi* ~ *Sebba*, the *a*-form is probably only a scribal mistake, due to the copyist's greater familiarity with *a*-names.

<sup>2</sup> SUNDÉN's assertion, *Hypocor.* suff. -y p. 142, that the suffix -*i* "is sparsely recorded in OE and that in Anglo-Saxon times it had no hypocoristic function" is hardly correct, at any rate not proved. — Cf. also WILLIAMS, *Anglia* XXV p. 421, CHADWICK, *Heroic age* p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See further below.

<sup>4</sup> To illustrate the difficulty that sometimes presents itself in placing the names, I may take a case in point. Though *Dynne* is, as I think, derived from *Dunn(a)*, an intelligible *A*-name, it can certainly not be looked upon as a genuine *A*-name itself, since its — mutated — stem does not occur in compound names; and it is not intelligible, unless wrongly associated with OE

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

**Aelfe** mon. Hildebrand p. 367 (Harold I).

See *Aelf*. — This may, however, be nothing but a curtailed form of *Aelfere* = *Aelfhere*: cf., e. g., Hildebrand p. 378.

**Aldi** Ellis, Intr. II p. 14, *Alde* ib. p. 281.

See *Ealda*; cf. also *Aldi* f.

**Berne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 48 (Yorksh.).

See *Be(o)rn*. Possibly Scand.; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 22, note 3.

**Blache** Ellis, Intr. II p. 49.

See *Blac(h)*.

**Bode** Ellis, Intr. II p. 50.

See *Boda*.

**Breme**, see group I.

**Brune** Ellis, Intr. II p. 60.

See *Brun*. Possibly Scand.

**Bryni**: *Bruny*<sup>1</sup> dux Suthsaxonum BCS 80 (c. 692), *Bryne* ib. 208 (772), *Bryni* ib. 275 (796), *Bryne* presbyter ib. 288 (798); *Bryni* LV 221, 269, 340.

See *Brun*. Cf. also such compounds as *Brynuald* LV 335. MÜLLER pp. 65, 93.

**Cyne** BCS 208 (772), *Cyne* minister ib. 470 (854); *Cyne* (?) mon. Grueber p. 191 (Eadw. II).

See *Cyn(n)a*. If *Cyne* really means 'royal', as is suggested by MC CLURE, Archæol. Cambr. 5th ser. VII p. 268, note 1, WEEKLEY, Surnames p. 44, the name of course does not belong here, but to group I.

**D(a)ene**, see group I.

**Diori**, see group I.

*dyne* 'din'. In spite of this, *Dynne* has here been given in the group corresponding to that of *Dunn(a)*. I am quite aware that this implies in some measure a deviation from the principles of arrangement followed in the main part of the treatise, but in order to get some sort of regularity this method has been adopted. Besides, it may be noticed that names of such an ambiguous character as *Dynne* are few in number.

<sup>1</sup> ME spelling.

**Dunne** KCD 1354 (11th cent.), *Dunne* Ellis, Intr. II p. 76.<sup>1</sup>  
See *Dunn*.

**Dynne, -a** : *Dynne* BL 29 (c. 725); *Dynne* (dat.) BCS 308 (c. 822), *Dynne* dux ib. 322 (805), 326 (808)<sup>2</sup>, *Dynni* ducis ib. 340 (812), *Dynne* dux ib. 343 (814) = *Dynna* dux ib. 350 (814) = *Dyne* dux ib. 356 (816), *Dynne* dux ib. 357 (816), *Dynne* diaconus ib. 379 (824), *Dynne* dux ib. 462 (851).

See *Dunn*. Cf. above p. 120, note 4.

[**Earne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 77 (Yorksh.), *Erne*, *Erni* ib. p. 107 (Chesh.) is probably Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 7, Namenk. p. 31].

**Ecgi** LV 175.

See *Ecca*. MÜLLER p. 66.

**Fredi, Friði** : *Fredi*, *Fredi* mon. Hildebrand p. 269, *Fredi* Grueber p. 282, *Fredi* Holm 528 (Cnut); *Friði* mon. Grueber p. 327 (Harthacnut).

See *Frið*. Not necessarily a corrupt form, as HOLM p. 37 assumes. For the interchange *e~i* cf. HOLM l. c.<sup>3</sup>

**Frodi?**, see *Frod*.

**Frome** mon. Grueber pp. 352, 353, *Frome* Hildebrand p. 433 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Fram*. *Frome* seems to be the same man as *Froma*, q. v.; cf. GRUEBER p. 331.

**Gife** mon. Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 90, Holm 168 (Aethelr. II), Grueber p. 395 (Eadw. Conf.). *Gire* Hildebrand p. 442 is probably only a mistake for this name; cf. Grueber p. 331. Such compounds as *Girard* (FORSSNER p. 104) are scarcely to be taken into account.

: *Gif-*, OE *gifu* etc. 'gift'. F 630, FORSSNER p. 112 ff., HOLM p. 38.

**Godi** mon. Grueber p. 331, *Godi* Hildebrand p. 446 (Eadw. Conf.); *Gode* Ellis, Intr. I p. 425, II p. 120 (fem.?). *Code* ib. II p. 69 (Linc.; Scand.?) is probably the same name; cf. *Codricus* ib. = *Godricus*.

See *God*.

<sup>1</sup> Some instances given under *Dunn* might equally well belong here, e. g. BCS 183, 486. — BCS 1045, quoted in Index Sax., has *Dunnes stigele*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dynne* OET p. 455 (chart. 50).

<sup>3</sup> Is *Fredo* Ellis, Intr. II p. 318 of Cont.-Germ. origin? Cf. FORSSNER p. 94. — *Fredices* (gen.) Grueber p. 161 is probably to be connected with *Froðric*, *Frederic* ib. p. 156.



**Golde** Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II p. 130 (fem.?).

See *Golda*.

**Hilde** mon. Grueber p. 164 (Eadgar).

See *Hild*.

**Hwite** (acc.) BCS 1250 (c. 970)<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *White* mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund).

See *Hwita*.

**Hys(s)e**, see group I.

**Ini** etc. : *Ini* rex<sup>2</sup> Beda HE IV 15, V 7 (*Ine* Transl. pp. 423, 585); *Inii* regis Aldhelm, Epistolæ col. 104; *Ines*, *Inæ* (gen). Laws p. 46, *Ine*, *Yne*, *Inæ*, *Hyne* ib. p. 88, *Yne*, *Ina*, *Ine* ib. p. 658 f.; *Ina* rex Ann. Wint. 683; *Ini* rex BCS 29, 74 (688—90), *Ine* ib. 78 (692), *Ini* rex ib. 100 (699?), *Ini*, *Ine*, *Ina* rex. ib. 101 (699), *Ini*, *Ine* rex ib. 102, *Ina*, *Yni* rex. ib. 103, *Ines* cyneges ib. 106 (701), *Ini* rex ib. 108, 109 (704), 112, 113, *Yni* regis ib. 114 (705), *Ini* rex ib. 121 (708?), *Ina*, *Ine* rex ib. 142, *Ini*, *Ina* rex ib. 143, *Ine* ib. 144 (725), *Ini* rex ib. 155 (726—37), *Ines* regis ib. 169 (c. 745), *Ine* rex ib. 623 (909), *Ines* (!) rex ib. 794 (944); *Ine* Chron. Preface A, 688 A, 694, 710, 715, 718, 721 A, 722, 725, 726 E, 728 A, 855 A; *Ine* Asser ch. 1; *Ine* Aethelweard 680, 694, 710, 715, 721, 857; *Ine* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Ine*, *Yne* Geneal. Tib. B V 171, 172, 173; *Ini* LV 99, 281<sup>3</sup>; *Ina* (acc.) prost KCD 981 (c. 970).<sup>4</sup>

: *In-*, the intensifying particle *in-*, recorded — apart from names — in, e. g., OE *indryhten* 'most noble', *infrōd* 'very wise', *inhold* 'thoroughly loyal'; see HÖFER, Germania XV p. 61 ff. MÜLLER pp. 68, 100, WREDE, Ostg. p. 103, note 4, F 955, SCHÖNFELD p. 146.

**Lafe** mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 115 (Aethelr. II); **Laue** DB IV p. 626 (Winton.).

See *Lafa*.

**Lange** Ellis, Intr. II p. 155 (fem.?).

See *Lang*.

**Ledi** Ellis, Intr. II p. 155.

<sup>1</sup> 'Byrhtic ge freode Ribrost 7 *Hwite*'. Perhaps fem. (nom. \**Hwitu*).

<sup>2</sup> King of Wessex c. 688—726; cf. DCB III p. 236, DNB XXVIII p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> The latter instance is doubtful : LVD p. 28 has *Berctuini*, LV 281 b. oru. *ini*.

<sup>4</sup> Nom. *Ina*? In the case of King *Ini*, *Ina* is certainly only a Latinized form.

Apparently to be connected with compounds such as *Ledmanus*, *Ledmar(us)*, *Ledmer(us)*, *Ledric*, *Leduinus*, *Leduui* Ellis p. 155 f.' (= *Lēod-*, see *Lioda*). I feel, however, very uncertain as to the genuineness of *Ledi*; perhaps it is only a careless spelling for *Leduui* (*Lēodwig*) above (both from Shropsh.).

[**Lefle** mon. Keary p. 62 (Burgred) is probably a corrupt form of some compound with *Lēof-*. On p. 46 the editor reads *Lefla*.]

**Leofe** BCS 501 (c. 860); *Leue* Ellis, Intr. II p. 158 (fem.?).<sup>1</sup>

See *Leof*.

[**Luffe** mon. Grueber p. 332, Hildebrand p. 455 (Eadw. Conf.) seems to be an error for *Luffine*, q. v.]

[**Manne**, **Monne** is most likely Scand. Note, however, such an early instance as *Monne* mon. Keary pp. 155, 156 (Northumb., Eanred). See BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 95, Namenk. p. 61. Cf. *Man(n)a*.]

**Mere** Ellis, Intr. II p. 184.

See *Merra*<sup>2</sup>.

**Orde** Ellis, Intr. II p. 191.

See *Orda*. But this is perhaps only an error for *Ordec* = *Ordheah* Ellis l. c.<sup>3</sup>

**Saxi**, **Sexi** : *Saxi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 210, *Sexi*, *Sexius* ib. p. 213; *Saxius* KCD 735 (c. 1045; starred).

See *Seaxa*.

**Secgge** mon. Grueber p. 144 (Eadred).

See *Secgga*. According to GRUEBER = *Secgestef*(?), which is, however, not recorded in OE.

**Spille** Ellis, Intr. II p. 226 (Line).

See *Spila*. Otherwise OE *spillan* 'to destroy' might also be thought of; cf. the well-known OWScand. byname *skáldaspillir*.

**Swote** mon. Hildebrand p. 341, *Swote* (or *Swota*) Grueber p. 303 (Harold I).

See *Swot*.

**Tidi** presbyter Vita Cuthb. auct. anon. p. 278 (c. 680; quoted from Searle p. 579); *Tidi* LV 200.

See *Tida*. MÜLLER p. 68.

**Til(l)i** : *Tili* LV 297, *Tile* BCS 417 (837); *Tilli* LV 169.

<sup>1</sup> Does *Lofe* Ellis, Intr. II p. 182, belong here?

<sup>2</sup> Since the meaning of *Mere-* is not quite certain, I have preferred to give *Mere* here instead of in group I, where it ought properly to be placed.

<sup>3</sup> Whether *Orthi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 193, stands for *Ordwig*, as is stated by SEARLE p. 370, I am not in a position to verify.

See *Tila*. MÜLLER p. 69. Cf. also HOLDER II 1848<sup>1</sup>.

**Tunne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 244 (Linc.).

See *Tun(n)a*. The locality supports Scand. origin. (cf. LIND, LUNDGREN s. v.), but from a phonological point of view the name might equally well be native.

[**Ware**(?) : *Edsigeware* mon. Grueber p. 262, Hildebrand p. 216, Holm 439 (Cnut).

Doubtful whether a byname or not; see HILDEBRAND p. VII, HOLM p. 67. At any rate HOLM seems to be right in connecting the byname (name?) with OE *waru* 'shelter, protection, care' or names containing that element.]

**Wege**, *Weghe* Ellis, Intr. II p. 265 (Yorksh., Linc.).

See *Wegga*. Scand.?

**Wige**, *Wighe* Ellis, Intr. II p. 267.

See *Wi(c)ga*.

**Wine**, see group I.

#### b. Unintelligible.

**Ael(l)i** etc. : *Aeli* Ellis, Intr. II p. 6; — *Aelli*, king of the South Saxons<sup>2</sup>, Beda HE II 5 (var. *Aelle*; Transl. p. 130 *Aelle*), *Aelle* Chron. 477, 485, 491 (*Aella* 491 E), 827; *Aelle* Aethelweard 477, 492, 827; *Aelli*, king of the Deirans<sup>3</sup>, Beda HE II 1 (var. *Aelle*, *Elle*; Transl. p. 111 *Aelle*), *Aelle* Yffing, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 73, *Aelle* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435, *Alli* Nennius ch. 57, 63, *Ulli* ib. ch. 61, *Aelle* Chron. 560, 588, *Aelle* Aethelweard 560; *Aelli* LV 380; *Aelle* Flor. Worc. 928; cf. *Aelle*, 'qui et *Aelfwinus*' ib. p. 242 (episc. licetfeld.)<sup>4</sup>.

See *Ael(l)a*. Note that the same man is called both *Aella* and *Aelli*. KEMBLE, Names p. 98, MÜLLER p. 64.

**Aet(t)i** : *Aeti* archiepiscopus KCD 784 (1046); *Actti* LV 170.

*Aeti* is in all probability a short form of *Eadsige*, Archbishop of Canterbury 1038—50 (SEARLE BKN p. 10); cf. *Eadsius* archiepiscopus Cantuariensis KCD 785. — *Aetti*, on the other hand, most likely belongs to the stem of *Atta*, q. v. KEMBLE, Names p. 97, STARK p. 17, MÜLLER pp. 64, 140.

**Baede** LV 432.

<sup>1</sup> For the name *Tilisi* LV 95, 103, 108, 170, 211, see MÜLLER p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 270, DNB I p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Bishop of Lichfield c. 920—c. 938; SEARLE BKN p. 136.



See *Baeda*. — According to CHADWICK, *Studies in OE* p. 97, *ae* here possibly represents  $\bar{a}^3$ , i. e. North. *i*-mutation of  $\bar{a}a$  < Prim. Germ. *au*, corresponding to normal Angl.  $\bar{e}$ , WSax.  $\bar{ie}$ . This etymology is rejected by MÜLLER p. 186, because WGerm. *au* before *i* appears as *e* in LV. It may be that such is usually the case; on p. 47, however, MÜLLER himself derives Angl. *Baeda*, *Beda* from *\*baudi-*, and therefore his protest cannot be looked upon as very important, even if it may be admitted that the other etymologies suggested (p. 64) are rather plausible as well.

**Betti** presbyter Beda HE III 21 (*Bete* Transl. p. 287); *Betti* LV 161, 164, 266, 336.

See *Bettu*. MÜLLER p. 64.

**Byn(n)i** : *Byni* LV 159; *Bynni* ib. 115, 162; *Bynni* ducis BCS 230 (779).

See *Bynna*, *Buna*. MÜLLER p. 65.

**Cud(d)i** : *Cudi* mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 53 (Aethelr. II); *Cuddi* LV 161.

See *Cud(d)a*. MÜLLER p. 65<sup>1</sup>.

**Dod(d)e** : *Dode* (or *Dodda*) mon. Grueber p. 320, *Dode* mon. Hildebrand p. 398 (Harthacnut); *Dode* Ellis, Intr. II p. 74; Ulf *Doddes* sune BCS 1130 (972—92).

See *Dod(d)a*. Note the byname Aluunus *dode* Ellis, Intr. II p. 35. *Dodde* appears to be a Scandinavized form of *Dodda*.

**Dudde** BCS 501 (c. 860; fem.?).

See *Dudd*.

**Dudi**, see *Dudig*.

**Ecci** : *Ecci* LV 200; *Ecce* (gen.)<sup>2</sup> BCS 42 (676; KCD 14 starred), *Ecce* episcopus ib. 113 (705).

See *Ecca*. — *Ecce* BCS 113 is evidently the same as *Aecci*, Bishop of Dunwich c. 675—c. 730 (cf. below). Very little is known about him, which explains the uncertainty in the writing of his name; DCB II p. 242 (s. v. *Etti*) gives six different spellings. — MÜLLER p. 66.

**Eddi**, see *Headdi*.

**Eoppe**, see *Eoppa*.

**Haddi** : *Haddi* episcopus BCS 103 (701), *Hadde* abbas ib. 107 (704).

<sup>1</sup> *Cyddi*, recorded by SEARLE p. 152, with a reference to 'LVD Sw. 573' seems to be due to a confusion between *Cyddi* and *Cudda*.

<sup>2</sup> Nom. *Ecce*?

See *Hadda*.

**Hæddi** : *Haedde* episcopus Beda HE III 7, *Haeddi* ib. IV 12 (var. *Heddi*, *Haedda*; Transl. p. 410 *Hædde*), V 18, *Haedde* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 18 (episc. occid. sax.), *Hædde* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 431, *Hæddi* abbas BCS 37 (675), *Hæddi* episcopus ib. 50 (680), *Hædde* episcopus ib. 61 (681), *Hæddi* episcopus ib. 62 (682), 70 (688), *Haedde* episcopus ib. 81, 82 (693), 87 (695), 290 (803)<sup>1</sup>, *Hædde* b Chron. 703 E (= *Hedde* ib. A), *Hæddes* (gen.) Laws p. 88 (var. *Heddes*), *Hædde* biscop Aelfric LS II p. 134.

See *Hædda*.

**Haethi** LV 196, *Haedi* ib. 341.

Probably belonging to the same group as the preceding name; OE *hæþ* 'heath' is scarcely possible. MÜLLER p. 67, BINZ p. 165. See further under *Hadda*.

**Headdi** : *Headdi* episcopus BCS 71 (688; KCD 28 starred), *Headdi* Flor. Worc. p. 235 (præsul. went.). According to SEARLE BKN p. 64, *Eddi* episcopus BCS 47 (680) is the same man, and elsewhere he is called *Hædde*, *Headda*.

See *Headda*.

**Heddi** : *Hedde* abbatis BCS 25 (670), *Hedde* antistite ib. 101 (699) *Heddi* episcopus ib. 121 (c. 700?)<sup>2</sup>. *Hedde* episcopus ib. 142 (725), *Hedde* ib. 197 (c. 765), *Hedde* episcopus ib. 206 (770), *Hedde* biscop Chron. 676, 703 A (= *Hædde* ib. E).

See *Hedda*.

**Hiddi** : *Hiddi* presbyter BCS 37 (675; KCD 11 starred), *Hiddi* LV 159.

See *Hidda*. MÜLLER p. 67.

[**Huni**, *Hune*, *Hunni*, (*Hunus*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 151 is in all probability of Scand. origin; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 70, and the note under *Hun* above. — *Hune*, *Hûne* Beda HE Transl. p. 423 is obviously due to a mistranslation. The Latin text (IV 15) has 'a ducibus regis, Berethuno et *Andhuno*', which the translator renders by 'from ðæs cyninges ealldormonnum Berhthune 7 *Hune*'.]

**Hyni** LV 99.

See *Hun*. MÜLLER p. 67.

**Ingui** Angenwitting<sup>3</sup>, Chron. 547 BC, *Ingui* Flor. Worc. 547. A short form of *Ingwine*, 'Ing-worshipper'. For the name

<sup>1</sup> *Hedde* KCD 1018 (starred).

<sup>2</sup> *Haedde* KCD 71.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

of *Ing* see *Inga* and literature there quoted. — In the Bernician genealogy the place of *Ingui* is taken by *Inguec* Nennius ch. 57, and by *Ingengeat* Flor. Worc. p. 253; in the Geneal. OET p. 170 he is omitted altogether. Cf. HACKENBERG p. 109 ff.

**Lude** : *Lude* mon. Keary p. 62 (Mercia, Burgred), *Lude* (or *Luda*) Grueber p. 32 (Aelfred); *Ludi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 182 (= *Ludig*, q. v.).

See *Luda*.

[**Mali** mon. Grueber p. 102 (Aethelstan).

See *Mal(f)*.]

**Morre** mon. Grueber p. 332 (Eadw. Conf.).

Perhaps to be connected with names in *Mor*-; see F 1116, BRUCKNER p. 284, HOLDER II 627 ff., BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 96, FORSSNER p. 192.

[**Ode** Ellis, Intr. I p. 458.

See *Od(d)a*.]

**S(a)ebbi**, **Sibbi** etc. : *Sebbi* rex<sup>1</sup> Beda HE III 30, IV 6, 11 (*Sibba*, *Sebba*, *Sebbe*, *Sebb*, *Sibbe* Transl. pp. 330 f., 382, 403), *Sebbe* Seaxreding, Sax. Geneal. 19, *Sibbi* cyning Chron. 656 E, *Sebbe* regis BCS 42 (676), *Sebbi* rex Eastsax ib. 81 (692—3), *Sebbi* regis Eastsæxanorum ib. 87 (695), *Sebbi* episcopi<sup>2</sup> ib. 89 (696), *Sibbius*<sup>3</sup> rex KCD 984 (664; starred)<sup>4</sup>, *Sebbi* Flor. Worc. 664, *Sebbe* ib. 675, *Sæbbi* ib. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.).

Presumably an original short form of such compounds as *Sæbeorht*, though confusion with the stem *sibb-* has afterwards taken place. See *Sæba*, *Sibba*; *Sibi*.

[**Tydi** LV 117.

See *Tuda*. MÜLLER p. 69.]

**Vdi** Ellis, Intr. I p. 498.

See *Uda*.

[**Winge** Ellis, Intr. II p. 269 (Essex).

Probably OEScand. *vinge* 'wing', used as a byname; see BJÖRKMAN, Zur dial. Prov. p. 25, SKEAT, Etym. Dict. s. v. 'wing'. Cf. *Wenge* BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 175. Note, however, the compound *Wingbald* BCS 258 (before 790), and the instances given in F 1608.]

<sup>1</sup> King of Essex c. 662—82; SEARLE BKN p. 275, PLUMMER, Beda II p. 177. Most of the charters in question are marked as spurious by KEMBLE.

<sup>2</sup> regis KCD 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Gibbius* BCS 22.

<sup>4</sup> BCS 625, given in Index Sax., has *Sibbes lea*.



## B.

## a. Intelligible.

[**Barne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 47 (Linc.). Of Scand. origin? See BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 23, note. Cf. *Bar(n)*, *Bearn*.]

**Belge**, see *Belga*.

[**Brece** or *Brege* mon. Grueber pp. 89, 97 (Eadw. the Elder).

If the former reading is correct, the name might possibly be associated with *Breca*, *Breoca* Beowulf 506, 531, 583, Widsith 25 (: OE *breccan* 'to break'); cf. BINZ p. 158, CHAMBERS p. 110 f., BJÖRKMAN, Anglia Beibl. 1919 p. 170 ff. Since this stem is, however, not found in OE nomenclature apart from these instances, I think it preferable to look upon *Brege* (*Brece*?) as a corruption, or perhaps a real short form of some Celtic name in *Breg-*, *Brig-*; see HOLDER s. v.]

**Buge** Ellis, Intr. I p. 388, II p. 61 (fem.).

See *Buga*. This instance is, however, doubtful both with regard to gender and nationality. Note that *Bugo* Ellis, Intr. II p. 61 (Cont.-Germ.? F 343) is, like *Buge*, derived from Nottinghamshire (and Yorkshire).

**Cnape**, see *Cnapa*.

**Esi**, **Oese** etc. : *Esi* abbatis Beda HE pref. [*Isses* (gen.) Transl. p. 4], *Esi* LV 214, *Ese* BCS 496 (858). The other instances seem to be due to erroneous readings of the form *Oise* in Bede: *Oese* Oeging, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 114 (Cantwar.)<sup>1</sup>, *Oese* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Ese* Aethelweard 596<sup>2</sup>, *Eose* Hearne, Text. Roff. ch. 37 (quoted from Searle).

For the etymology see *Esa*, *Oesa*. MÜLLER p. 66; BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 38.

**Esne**, see group I.

**Grene**, see group I.

**Hemmi** LV 335.

See *Hemma*. MÜLLER p. 67.

**Hiordi**, see group I.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 258, CHADWICK, Origin p. 46, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> 'Denique Aethelbyrht Eormenrices filius fuit, cujus avus *Ochta*, qui prænominabatur (!) *Ese*, propter quod postea reges Cantuarii *Esingas* sunt nomen sortiti'.

[**Lambe** Ellis, Intr. II p. 154 (Line.).

Though this may be associated with OE *lamb* 'lamb', it is most likely a Scand. name<sup>1</sup>. Cf. OWScand. *Lambi* (LIND), and *lamb*, *lambi* as a byname JÓNSSON p. 304, KAHLE p. 230 (which is no doubt its original function). The name *Lambecarl* Ellis l. c. (cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 89) seems to be a later formation. — *Lambert* (FORSSNER p. 172) is scarcely to be taken into consideration here.]

**Pipe** Ellis, Intr. II p. 367.

Apparently OE *pipe* f. 'pipe, tube'; yet it is perhaps more likely to be connected with *Piperellus*, *Pipin* ib. Cf. FORSSNER p. 204.

**Sib(b)i** : *Sibe* Ellis, Intr. II p. 213, *Sibi* ib. p. 234. — *Sibbi*, see under *S(a)ebbi*.

See *Sibba*.

**Snode** Ellis, Intr. II p. 218.

: OE *snōd* 'hood, head-dress, fillet'? Cf. Ceolla *Snoding* BL 115 (after 757).

**Suince** mon. Grueber p. 143 (Eadred).

: OE *geswinc* 'toil, work', (*ge*)*swincan* 'to labour'? Cf. *Swenc*.

**Wade** BCS 118 (706)<sup>2</sup>, *Wade* miles KCD 1338 (1050—4), *Wade* Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

See *Wada*.

**Wode** mon. Grueber p. 164 (Eadgar).

See *Uuodda*.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Addi** comes Beda HE V 5 (var. *Aeddi*; Transl. p. 570 *Addi*, *Idda*).

See *Adda*. — Cf. *Aeddi*.

**Aecci** : *Aecci* episcopus<sup>3</sup> Beda HE IV 5 (Transl. p. 380 *Acce*, *Ecce*), *Aecce* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 28 (episc. orient. angl), *Aecce* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 434, *Aecci* (gen.) BCS 41 (c. 675), *Aecci* Flor. Worc. 673. *Acce* (gen.) BCS 40 (c. 675) is probably the same man.

See *Acca*. — Cf. *Ecce*.

<sup>1</sup> Not in BJÖRKMAN.

<sup>2</sup> *Uuada* KCD 58 (starred).

<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Dunwich c. 675—c. 730; SEARLE BKN p. 38.

**Aed(d)i** : *Aedi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 4; — *Aeddi* 'cognomento Stephanus' Beda HE IV 2 (var. *Aedi*; Transl. p. 345 *Edde*, *Aedda*, *Aedde*), *Aedde* Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 14.

See *Adda*. Cf. RAINE, *Historians of York* I p. XXXI.

**Aese** princeps BCS 282 (796).

Since KCD 180 (starred) reads *Aesc*, it would be rather futile to suggest an etymology for this name. If the form is genuine, however, *Aese* belongs to the same stem as *Aesica*, q. v.

[**Aiti**, *Altius* Ellis, Intr. II p. 25.

The fem. form *Alta* has been connected above — though hesitatingly — with (*E*)*alde*, and it is, of course, equally possible that this name belongs to (*E*)*ald*(·) as well. We are here, however, evidently concerned with an AN spelling, the real OE equivalent of which it is very difficult to ascertain. — A Celtic origin (cf. HOLDER I 109) need certainly not be supposed.]

[**Ap(p)e** : *Ape* Ellis, Intr. II p. 40, *Apius* DB IV p. 604 (Exon.); *Appe* Ellis, Intr. II p. 40.

Most likely not native; cf. HOLDER I 165 ff., III 641, BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 13.]

**Babbi** DB IV p. 622 (Winton.).

See *Babba*. The name may also be Scand.; cf. ODan. *Babbe* (NIELSEN).

**Baere** abbatis BCS 194 (759—65).

From the stem of OE *beran* 'to bear'? Cf. *gebære* 'manner, behaviour', and the suffix *-bære*.

[**Barbe** mon. Grueber pp. 112 (Aethelstan), 125 (Eadmund).

Either Celtic (cf. HOLDER I 344), or a mistake for *Bardel* or *Burdel*, a contemporary moneyer from the same place (Norwich).]

[**Bate**, name occurring on a burial pyramid at Glastonbury, Will. Malm. ch. 21.

Probably related to Celtic (OE?) *bat*, *bata* 'bat, cudgel'; see HOLDER I 360, III 815 ff., NED 'bat'. In this connection the by-name Aelfric *Bata* (SEARLE p. 18) might also be mentioned. According to DNB I 164, it means 'the bat'; this is, however, unlikely, since NE *bat*, which is not recorded until c. 1575, has taken the place of ME *bakke* (NED s. v.) But WEEKLEY, *Surnames* p. 24, shows that (1e) *Bat* was a common nickname even in the 13th cent.]

[**Bere** Ellis, Intr. II p. 48 (Devon).

Like *Ber*, q. v., this may belong to compounds with *Ber*-,



but the instance seems doubtful, and so I prefer to give the name here, in brackets. — OE *bere* 'barley' is scarcely possible.]

**Besi** etc. : *Besi* (or *Besel*) mon. Grueber p. 122 (Eadmund), *Bese* ib. p. 146 (Eadred); *Besi* Tuk KCD 795 (1051; starred); *Besi*, *Besy*, (*Beso*?) Ellis, Intr. II p. 48.

Scand., or connected with *Bosa*, q. v.? Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 24.

**Bisi** : *Bisi* episcopus<sup>1</sup> Beda HE IV 5 (*Bise*, *Byse*, *Besæ*, *Biise* Transl. pp. 374, 380), *Bisi* Orientalium Anglorum episcopus BCS 30 (673), *Bisi* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 27 (episc. orient. angl.), *Bisi* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433, *Bisi* Flor. Worc. p. 233; *Bisi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 49.

From the stem *bis* 'aufgeregt einherstürmen', found, for instance, in OHG *pisôn*, MHG *bisen* 'mutwillig springen', OSwed. *bisa*, NSwed. dial. *besa* 'to run'; OHG *bisa* 'Nordwind'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 271. Cf. OHG *Biso* (F 308), OSwed. *Bisi* (LUNDGREN; HELLQUIST, Xen. Lid. p. 93); cf. also HOLDER I 426 f.

**Bol(I)e** : *Bole* Ellis, Intr. II p. 50 (Linc.); — *Bolle* ib. I p. 383 (Hants.), II pp. 50 (Wilts., Dors.), 262<sup>2</sup> (Somers.), *Bolle* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.), 623 (Winton.).

The occurrence of this name in England has been discussed by BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 26, Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 229, ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkv. VI p. 276; both seem, however, to have overlooked the instances above. Besides Scand. *Bole* (DB Linc., and in *Boleby* etc., see BJÖRKMAN) we have undoubtedly to assume the co-existence of a genuine OE (or possibly Celtic) *Bolle*. Cf. further under *Bolla*.

[**Bolne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 51.

Like *Boln*, q. v., probably corrupt.]

[**Bosi** mon. Montagu II 47 (Cnut; quoted from Searle p. 542).

See *Bosa*; but this is perhaps most likely Scand.<sup>3</sup> Cf. OW Scand. *Bósi* (LIND), OSwed. *Bose* (LUNDGREN), ODan. *Bosi* (NIELSEN); *bósi* was also used as a byname ('Mädchenjäger') JÓNSSON p. 298, KAHLE p. 228. Cf. NERMAN, Svärges hedna litteratur p. 193 f.]

[**Brode**, *Brodo*, *Brodos*, *Brodro* Ellis, Intr. II p. 60 are probably nothing but careless spellings for Scand. *Broder*, *Brodor* ib.; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 30.]

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of East Anglia c. 669—73; SEARLE BKN p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Gen.; nominative perhaps *Bolla*.

<sup>3</sup> Not in BJÖRKMAN.

[**Cabe** Ellis, Intr. II p. 63 seems to be a short form of some Celtic name; see HOLDER I 660 ff. Cf. *Caua*.]

[**Cane** Ellis, Intr. II p. 64 (Suss.).

Probably Scand.<sup>1</sup>; cf. OSwed. *Kani* (LUNDGREN), and the OW Scand. byname *kani* RYGH p. 34, KAHLE p. 241; see BUGGE, Arkiv f. nord. fil. II p. 167. Cf. further *Cana*.]

**Cawe** mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 104 (Aethelr. II). See *Caua*.

[**Clare** BCS 882 (949).

In all probability this is a shortened, perhaps curtailed, form of some name containing Latin *clarus*. Cf. *Clarembaldus*, recorded from c. 950; see FORSSNER pp. 54 f., 274. Though several signatories of BCS 882 bear Scand. names, *Clare* can scarcely be regarded as such, since *klárr* (like ME *cler*, NE *clear* ultimately derived from Latin *clarus*) is rather a late word in OS cand.]

**Coifi** etc. : *Coifi* primus pontificum Beda HE II 13 (*Cefi*, *Cæfi*, *Cæfi* Transl. pp. 164, 166), *Caefi* Alcuin, Versus 167 (RAINE, Historians of York I p. 354 reads *Coefi*). — Cf. *Ceefi* LV 340.

According to MÜLLER p. 65, from a somewhat obscure stem \**kōfi-*, \**kōbi-*, and perhaps cognate with OE *caef* 'chaff'. The latter combination seems rather improbable, and, moreover, the identity between the two names *Coifi* etc. and *Ceefi* is hardly so "offenbar" as MÜLLER states. KEMBLE, Names p. 83, translates *Coifi* by 'the bold or active one'(?); does he connect it with OE *cāf* 'quick, active, prompt; bold, brave' (< \**kaifa-*)? In my opinion the variety of spellings in the case of the Northumbrian priest's name is too great to permit of any conclusions as to its etymology. — Not Celtic, as is assumed by JAMIESON, Dict., Suppl. 'coivie', and GRIMM, D. Myth. I p. 75, note 2; see HOLDER I 1062.

**Cymmi**(?) : *Cymmi* (gen.) BCS 111 (704).

Related to *Cyma*, q. v.? Celtic according to STARK p. 3.

**Drome** mon. Keary p. 115 (St. Eadmund).

**Ebbi** : *Ebbi* LV 131, 154, 250, *Ebbe* ib. 453, 463; *Ebbi* (gen.) BCS 34 (before 675; KCD 987 starred)<sup>2</sup>; *Ebbi* abbas Sim. Durh. 775; *Ebbi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 77. — Cf. *Aebbe* Friesa Chron. 897 A; FORSSNER p. 11.

See *Ebba*, *Aebba*. For the instance in DB cf. ODan. *Ebbe* (NIELSEN). — MÜLLER p. 66.

<sup>1</sup> Not in BJÖRKMAN.

<sup>2</sup> BCS 1296, quoted in Index Sax., has *Ebbes ham*.

**Efe** mon. Keary p. 83 (East Anglia, Beonna), *Efe* mon. (Aethelstan) Num. Chron. 1884 p. 245.

Probably belonging to the same stem as *Aba*, q. v.

**Eli** : *Eli* mon. Grueber pp. 38, 55 (Aelfred), *Ele*(?) ib. 102 (Aethelstan). *Eli* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 96, 312 seems doubtful; cf. the place-name *Eli* (Ely) ib.

: Goth. *aljis* 'ein anderer'; see SCHÖNFELD p. 13, FORSSNER p. 66 and literature there quoted. *Ella*, q. v., may also partly belong to this stem.

**Else**(?) : *Else* (dat.) KCD 1290 (c. 995).

See *Elesa*, *Elsa*.

**Embe** LV 440.

MÜLLER p. 66.

**Eni** : Anna filius *Eni* Beda HE III 18<sup>1</sup>, *Eni* Tyttling, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 118 (Eostengla), *Eni* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Eni* Flor. Worc. p. 249 (geneal. reg. orient. angl.), *Ecni* Nennius ch. 59.

**Eobe** etc. : *Eobe* abbas BCS 157 (723—37), *Ibe* abbas ib. 154 (736), *Iebe* abbas ib. 164 (716—43)<sup>2</sup>; *Iubi* LV 175.

See *Eoba*. MÜLLER p. 68. — Cf. *Ive*.

**Ere** mon. Grueber p. 111 (Aethelstan).

A short form of *Erewine* (mon. Aethelr. II), or a similar name? See FORSSNER p. 77. Cf. *Erra*.

[**Feche** Ellis, Intr. II p. 111.

See *Fech*.]

[**Fine** Geneal. Vesp. B VI 53, *Fines* ib. 65 is the same as (Celtic) *Finan*, Bishop of Lindisfarne 651—61; see SEARLE BKN p. 180.]

[**Garle** Ellis, Intr. II p. 116 (Yorksh.) is no doubt an error for Scand. *Carle*, recorded, for instance, by Ellis, Intr. II p. 65; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 77 f.]

[**Geddi** BCS 4, 5, *Geddi*. regis optimas ib. 6 (605; KCD 2, 3, 4 starred).

Probably Celtic; see HOLDER I 1992. Cf. *Geda*.]

**Greue** Ellis, Intr. II p. 131 (Linc.).

: ODan. *greve* 'count, earl'? Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loan-words p. 43.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> The three spellings probably denote the same person; see DCB II p. 130.



**H(a)ecci** : *Hæcci* (gen.) BCS 89 (696; KCD 40 starred); *Hecci* LV 173, 201. Cf. *Heche* Ellis, Intr. II p. 141 (Devon).

From the stem of *Hac(c)a*, q. v.? Cf. also OE (*tō*)*haccian* 'to hack (to pieces)'. MÜLLER p. 67.

**Hame** Ellis, Intr. II p. 334 (Cornw.).

See *Hama*. Perhaps only a curtailed form of *Hamelin* (Cornw. etc.), a diminutive belonging to *Haimo*, *Hamo*; cf. FORSSNER p. 142.

**Hasi(?)**, name in runes on a ring, Stephens I p. 371 (6th cent.).

Very doubtful reading. If genuine, is it to be connected with OE *hasu* 'dusky, grey, ashen'?

[**Hiodde** LV 328, *Hiuddi* ib. 100, 253, 333, 353, *Hiudu* (= *Hiuda*?) ib. 80.

In spite of the alleged parallels Lomb. *Heudo* (BRUCKNER p. 267), OHG *Hiuto*<sup>1</sup> (F 846), the Germanic origin of this name seems exceedingly doubtful. Cf. HELLWIG p. 10, BINZ, Litbl. 1893, 161, SIEVERS, Beitr. XVIII p. 413, SEARLE pp. 299, 587, MÜLLER pp. 23, 38 f., 67.]

**Id(d)i** : *Iidi* LV 218: *Iddi* (Lat. gen.) BCS 74 (688—90; KCD 31 starred).

See *Ida*. — MÜLLER p. 67.

**Ielfi** mon. Grueber p. 460 (Harold II).

The instance is too late to be simply identified with early WSax. *ielfe* 'elves' (plur. of *ælf*), *ielfig* 'raving, frantic, mad'; see BULBRING § 306. We can hardly assume that this is a case of a traditional spelling.

[**Iole** : *Ioles* (gen.) mon. Grueber p. 185 (Eadgar), *Iole* ib. p. 365 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Iola*.]

[**Ir(r)e**, **Ir(r)a** mon. Grueber pp. 200, 216, 265, Hildebrand pp. 59, 60, 180, 475 (Aethelr. II, Cnut).

Probably Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 50.]

**Ive** mon. Grueber p. 155 (Eadred), 182 (Eadgar).

See *Ifa*. — Cf. *Ibe* under *Eobe*.

**Lagudi** LV 126.

Obscure. Cf. MÜLLER p. 68.

**Lane(?)** : uxor *Lane* (gen.)<sup>2</sup> Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

<sup>1</sup> The compound *Hiotoman* BCS 377 (824) occurs in a later copy. Cf. *Hizeman* (FORSSNER p. 153)?

<sup>2</sup> Nom. *Lana*?

Native? Cf. HOLDER II 142, BRUCKNER p. 275, F 1002.

[**Lulle** dux BCS 475 (854; KCD 1051 starred) is undoubtedly an error for *Lullede*, q. v.]

[**Magne** Ellis, Intr. II p. 183.

Scand.; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 61, where this instance is, however, lacking.]

**Ofe** BCS 501 (c. 860), *Ofe(?)* mon. Grueber p. 234 (Aethelr. II).

See *Ofa*.

[**Ote** Ellis, Intr. II p. 199 (Yorksh.), *Otti* ib. (Suff.).

Not native. Either identical with (Cont.-Germ.) Scand. *Outi*, *Auti* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 24, Namenk. p. 20) or *Otte* (BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 66); cf. also FORSSNER p. 199.]

[**Ourde** BCS 1044 (958) is evidently a corrupt form. The charter contains many Scand. names that have been ill-treated by the scribe, e. g. *Sunner* (*Gunner*), *Leod* (*Leot*), *Dor* (*Ðor*).]

**Pælli** LV 340.

MÜLLER pp. IX, 68.

**Pede** BCS 154 (736).

\***Rewe(?)** : *Rewes* (gen.) BCS 72 (688; KCD 994 starred).

Celtic? Cf. HOLDER II 1180 f.

**Rippe** Ellis, Intr. II p. 379.

See *Rippa*.

[**Særle** abb Thorpe p. 615 (11th cent.).

See *Særla*.]

[**Scile** dux BCS 716 (937), *Acule* dux ib. 812 (944—6) is no doubt an error for *Scule*; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 124, Namenk. p. 77.]

[**Sessi** Ellis, Intr. II p. 212.

Not to be connected with OE *sess* 'seat, bench', but of foreign origin, either Celtic or Cont.-Germ. Cf. HOLDER II 1527, F 1344, BRUCKNER p. 305, SCHÖNFELD p. 203 and literature there quoted.]

[**Sindi** Ellis, Intr. II p. 214 (Yorksh.).

To judge from the locality this is probably, as SEARLE suggests, the same as Scand. *Sendi*, for which see BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 73. Otherwise Cont.-Germ. *Sind-* (F 1339, SCHÖNFELD p. 207 f.) may be thought of.]

**Stepi** Ellis, Intr. II p. 229 (Nott., Linc.). Cf. *Stepiot* ib. (Linc.).

Perhaps belonging to OE *steppan* 'to step', or OE *stēpan* 'to erect, raise'. Very doubtful. Cf. OG *Stepelin* F 1363. The

locality seems to point to Scand. origin, though no Scand. equivalent is on record.

**Stochi** DB IV p. 613 (Exon.).

: OE *stoc* m. 'stock, stump', n. 'place, house, dwelling'? Cf. OSwed. *Stokke* (? LUNDGREN), and OWScand. *stokkr* as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 285, KAHLE p. 198).

**Strami** Ellis, Intr. II p. 230. Cf. *Stremius* ib.

Possibly from the stem in MLG *stram* (-mm-), NHG *stramm*, Dutch *stram* etc.; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 499, Nynorsk etym. ordb. 'stram'. Cf. OG *Stram* F 1365.

**Swene** mon. Grueber p. 1 (Ecgeborht).

For chronological reasons this name can hardly be identified with Scand. *Swen* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 139, Namenk. p. 82.

[**Ton(n)e** : *Tone* Ellis, Intr. II p. 240 (Yorksh.), *Tonne* ib. pp. 240, 395 (Linc., Warw.).

Probably Scand.; cf. ODan. *Tonne* m., *Tonna* f. (NIELSEN), OSwed. *Tonna* f. (LUNDGREN). Cf. *Ton(n)a* above. — *Tone*, *Tona* may also be an error for *Tovi*, *Tova* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 141).]

[**Thrunni** KCD 970 (1037; ME copy).

Certainly not genuine. Corruption of *Thrumm* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 154)?]

[**Duni** dux KCD 760 (1038) seems to be the same as *Duri* (comes) ib. 761, 763, 764 etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 158. *Dune* dux KCD 500 (Yorksh. 963; starred) = *Durre* BCS 1112, is also probably an error for this name.]

[**Walle** Ellis, Intr. II p. 263 probably stands for *Wallef* ib. = *Walpēof*; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 173.]

**Uiuti** LV 97.

MÜLLER p. 69 suggests that this is a mistake for \**Uinti*, in which case it belongs to the stem of *Winta*, q. v.

**Yffi** : *Yffi* Uusefreaing, father of Aelle<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 73, *Yffe* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435, *Iffi* Nennius ch. 61, *Yffe* Uxfreaing, Chron. 560 BC, *Yffi* Flor. Worc. p. 254 (geneal. reg. deir.), *Iffæ* (gen.) Henry Hunt. 560; — *Yffi* filius Osfridi, Beda HE II 14, 20 (*Yffe*, *Uffa* Transl. pp. 172, 187).

See *Uffa*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 322.



## IV. Diminutive Names.

The diminutive personal names in OE have partly been dealt with by ECKHARDT in connection with his investigation into the OE diminutives in general.<sup>1</sup> The name material brought together by him is certainly not complete<sup>2</sup>, but since ECKHARDT has already expounded the principles of OE diminutive formation, I shall only refer to his paper.

We must notice in addition what has been said in the introductory remarks to the preceding chapter about the relations between the diminutive name and the primary name.

Moreover, just as in the case of the *i*-names, we have here to assume the occurrence of original formations. When neither the primary name nor a full name corresponding to a diminutive name is recorded, this may of course be only accidental, but it is more probable that we are not concerned with a real diminutive; agential nouns especially then come into consideration<sup>3</sup>. Since, however, nothing certain can be stated with regard to the real character of these isolated names — which are, moreover, few in number — they have been included among the indubitable diminutives, as being formally identical with them.

### 1. Names with an *l*-suffix.<sup>4</sup>

#### I. *α*, -*il*, -*el*.

Though -*il* is preserved only in the earliest instances, the mutated stem-vowel shows that this was the original ending. When

<sup>1</sup> "Die angelsächsischen Deminutivbildungen". E. St. XXXII p. 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, ECKHARDT has a few non-English names that have not been included here, e. g. *Onela* Beowulf, *Heðca*, *Sifeca* Widsith.

<sup>3</sup> For appellative agential nouns with an *l*-suffix see KÄRRE, *Nomina agentis* in OE p. 42 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FICK p. L, STARK p. 56 and passim, KLUGE, *Stammbildungslehre* § 56, MEYER-LÜBKE, *Rom. Namenst.* p. 88, WREDE, *Ostg.* p. 195, F 987, ZIMMER, K. Z. XXXII p. 175, MÜLLER p. 140, ECKHARDT p. 334 ff., BJÖRKMAN, *Namen im Beowulf*, s. v. 'Hreðel'.

there is no mutation, it may be doubted whether we have to assume *-ul* (*-ol*) > *-el*, or *-il* > *-el* with the non-mutated vowel taken over from the primary name, but as *-ul* (*-ol*) is comparatively rare as a diminutive suffix, all names in *-el* have been given in this group.<sup>1</sup>

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

**Berhtel** mon. Keary p. 46 (Mercia, Burgred).

See *Berht*. — ECKHARDT p. 336.

**Brunel** homo Colsuan, Ellis, Intr. II p. 299 (Linc.).

See *Brun*. ECKHARDT p. 336. Perhaps not native; cf. FORSSNER p. 52, HILDEBRAND DB p. 332.

**Burgel** Ellis, Intr. II p. 62.

See *Burga*.

[**Leofnel** mon. Grueber p. 189 (Eadgar).

According to the editor = *Leofhelm*? Otherwise a diminutive of *Leofnoð*?]

**Mannel**, **Monnel** : *Mannel* minister BCS 516 (867), 520 (868), *Mannele* (dat.) ib. 1130 (972—92); *Mannel* mon. Num. Chron. 1884 p. 251 (Eadmund I); *Monnel* presbiter BCS 379 (824), *Monnel* minister ib. 1308 (974—5).<sup>2</sup>

See *Mann*, *Monn*. ECKHARDT p. 337, WREDE, Ostg. p. 123. — Possibly the scriptural name *Emanuel*? (WILLIAMS, Anglia XXV p. 415).

**Rædel** mon. Num. Chron. 1876 p. 390 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Rada*. — ECKHARDT p. 337, MÜLLER p. 114. Cf. also BJÖRKMAN, Namen im Beowulf s. v. 'Hreðel'.

**Tatel** mon. Keary pp. 45 (Mercia, Berhtwulf), 64 (Burgred).

See *Tata*. — ECKHARDT p. 337.

**Witil** mon. Grueber p. 103 (Aethelstan); *Vitel* Ellis, Intr. II p. 249, *Vitel* DB IV 613 (Exon.).

The first instance may be a diminutive of the sparsely recorded *Wita*, q. v., but *Vitel* in DB is perhaps more probably the same as *Vitalis* ib.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ECKHARDT p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> From an earlier charter; cf. *Hwita*.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Dud(d)el** : *Dudel* (or *Dudele*) mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 53 (Aethelr. II); *Duddel* BCS 445 (844).

See *Dudd*. ECKHARDT p. 337. — Cf. *Dyddel*.

**Dudecil** mon. Keary pp. 55 (Mercia, Burgred), 66 (Ceolwulf II).

See *Dudec*. "Eine potenzierte deminutivbildung" ECKHARDT p. 337.

**Dyddel** BCS 406 (833), 417 (837).<sup>1</sup>

See *Dudd*. — ECKHARDT p. 337.

**Morel** Ellis, Intr. II p. 356.

See *Morre*. Native origin doubtful.

**\*Tottel** : *Totteles* (gen.) KCD 975 (c. 1065).

See *Totta*.

**Tyrhtel** etc. : *Tyrthel* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 49<sup>2</sup>, *Tyrhtello* (abl.) Flor. Worc. 710, *Tyrhtel* ib. p. 238 (præsul. hereford.)<sup>3</sup>, *Tirtil* episcopus BCS 82 (693), *Tyrtel* episcopus ib. 113 (705).

; *Torht-*, see *Totta*. ECKHARDT p. 337; STARK p. 3.

## B.

## a. Intelligible.

**Huntael** (?) mon. Keary p. 34 (Mercia, Coenwulf).

See *Hunta* (?). Doubtful.

**Svencel** (*Swenc* etc.) mon. Grueber p. 247 (Cnut). Cf. Aelfwi *Swencel* (*Swecel*) mon. Hildebrand p. 259 (Cnut); according to HILDEBRAND p. VII a byname.

See *Swenc*.

**Wædel** etc. : *Wædel* mon. Grueber p. 247 (Cnut), *Wædell* or *Wedel* ib. pp. 304, 307 (Harold I), *Wædel* ib. pp. 321 (Harthacnut), 339 (Eadw. Conf.); *Wadel* etc. Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same man as *Duddel* BCS 445. The three charters are all signed by Archbishop Ceolnoð.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Hereford c. 688—c. 707; SEARLE BKN p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> The variant *Tyrthelm* MHB p. 621 is evidently constructed by the scribe, who took *Tyrht(h)el* for a corrupt form.



See *Wada*. The instances in DB are possibly foreign, but in any case they belong to the same stem as the native *Wada*; cf. FORSSNER p. 238, ECKHARDT p. 337.

**Wod(d)el** : *Wodel* mon. Keary pp. 38 (Mercia, Coenwulf), 40 (Ceolwulf I); *Woddel* mon. (Ceolwulf I) Num. Chron. 1894 p. 36 (the same man as *Wodel*?).

See *Uodda*.

#### b. Unintelligible.

[**Achil** Ellis, Intr. II p. 2, which ECKHARDT p. 337 registers as a diminutive of *Achi*, *Acha*, is obviously not a genuine name. Probably Scand. *Achi*, *Aki*, to which the scribe has erroneously given the ending *-kil*, common in Scand. names; cf. *Arcil* etc. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. pp. 2, 8, 192.]

**Beccel** preost Guthlac ch. 7, 20 (Felix' Latin text has *Beccelinus*).

It is doubtful whether this really belongs to *Bacca*, q. v., or to *Becca* (quoted above under *Bicca*), as ECKHARDT p. 336 suggests. Cf. HOLDER I 363 f.

[**Bosel**, *Boisil*, *Boesil*, *Besel* (see Searle) may, from a formal point of view, belong to the stem of *Bosa*, q. v., but since *Boisil*, *Bosel* are given as Celtic by HOLDER I 475, 495, McCLURE, Brit. Place-names p. 184, it seems most advisable to assume that the whole group is of Celtic origin. Cf. MÜLLER p. 69, ECKHARDT p. 336, FORSSNER pp. 49, 52.]

\***Bunel** : *Buneles* (gen.) KCD 1290 (c. 995).

See *Buna*.

**Cæfel** mon. Grueber p. 244, Hildebrand p. 229 (Cnut).

From *Caua*, q. v.? Cf. also OE *cæfl* 'halter, muzzle' and *Caſlo* (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 75. Namenk. p. 50). ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxf. p. 70, GEVENICH p. 73.

[**Ceftel** mon. Grueber p. 330 (Eadw. Conf.).

An error for *Ceteel* ib. = *Cetel*? See BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 79.]

[**Cnytel** mon. Grueber p. 301 (Cnut).

This might certainly be a diminutive form of *Cnut*, coined on English soil, but in all probability it is entirely Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Archiv CXXV p. 162 f. — ECKHARDT p. 336. According to GRUEBER = *Cytel*.]

[**Dregel**, *Dregl* etc. mon. Grueber pp. 122, 129 (Eadmund).

Probably not native; cf. OG *Dregil* F 1462.]

[**Eowel** subregulus BCS 812 (944—6), which ECKHARDT p. 337 quotes as a diminutive of *Eowa*, is an error for Celtic *Howel*, in this case *Howel Dda*, † c. 950 (Encycl. Brit.). KCD 410 has *Howell*; cf. also Index Sax. p. 92.]

**Fassel** LVH (c. 1000; quoted from Searle).

: OE *fæs* 'fringe, border'? Cf. also OE *fæsl* 'seed, offspring, progeny'. Very doubtful. — F 500.

**Fitel** Ellis, Intr. II p. 111.

On this name see BJÖRKMAN, *Namen im Beowulf*, s. v. 'Fitela'.

[**Hatel** dux BCS 689 (932).

According to SEARLE p. 281 the same as *Hadder* dux BCS 703 (934), which does not seem unlikely from a chronological point of view; cf. BJÖRKMAN, *Pers.* p. 60.]

**Icil** : Cnebba *Icling*, . . . *il* Eamering<sup>1</sup> Geneal. Vesp. B VI 92, *Icel* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 437, *Icel* Eomæring Chron. 626 BC, 755 A, *Icel* Aethelweard 756, *Icil* Flor. Worc. p. 251 (geneal. reg. merc.).

An ancient name, probably derived from a secondary stem. Cf. OG *Ichilo* F 943. — STARK p. 147, MÜLLENHOFF, *Beowulf* p. 86, CHADWICK, *Origin* p. 15 f., BRADLEY, *Ess. and Stud.* I p. 28, ECKHARDT p. 337 and note 2.

[**lore** mon. Grueber p. 332 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Iora*.]

[**Ivichel**, *Ivikel* Ellis, Intr. I p. 441.

Though this might be derived from an unrecorded \**Ivic*, a diminutive of *Iva*, *Ifa*, q. v., it is more probably not genuine. See FORSSNER p. 168 f.]

[**Louel** Ellis, Intr. II p. 350.

ECKHARDT p. 337 gives this as a diminutive of *Lofe*, quoted above under *Lofo* m. Both forms are, however, obviously corrupt, and which OE name *Louel* represents is not easy to say. But for the word 'miles' added to one of the two instances, it would be tempting to identify it with *Louet*, following immediately after, which probably means *Leofgyð*.]

**Mucel** etc. : *Mucel* dux BCS 152 (in confirmation from c. 840), 343, 350 (814), 353 (815), 356, 357 (816), 373 (823), *Mucael* dux ib. 378, *Mucel* dux ib. 379 (824), 384, 386 (825), *Mucoel* dux, *Mucele* (dat.) Esninge ib. 416 (836), *Mucel* dux ib. 428, 429, 430

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

(840), 432, 436 (841), 443 (843—4), 450 (845), *Mucel*, *Mucel* dux (bis) ib. 452, 453, *Muceli* principis ib. 454 (848), *Mucel* miles ib. 460 (850), *Mucel* dux ib. 464, *Mucel* p̄ ib. 466 (852), *Mucel*, *Mucel* dux ib. 487, 488, 489 (855), 492 (857), *Mucel* ib. 496 (858), *Mucel* minister ib. 506 (862), 507 (863), *Mucel* dux ib. 509 (864), 513 (866), *Mucel* minister ib. 515 (860—6), 516 (867), *Mucel* Dux, *Mucel* minister ib. 520, *Mucel* dux ib. 522 (868), *Mucel* minister ib. 873 (948), *Mucel* dux ib. 1210 (867; for 967, BIRCH). Cf. . . . 'Aethilredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur *Mucill*' Asser ch. 29 (= Flor. Worc. 868), and . . . 'Ethelredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur ab Anglis *Mucel*, eo quod erat corpore magnus et prudentia grandævus' Sim. Durh. ch. 70. — *Mucel* Flor. Worc. p. 238 (præsul. hereford.) is probably a mistake; see HADDAN-STUBBS III p. 656 note b, SEARLE BKN p. 110.

As appears from the passage in Sim. Durh. (derived from the Northumbrian Annals), the name (byname) *Mucel* was early associated with OE *micel*, *mycel* 'great', and this interpretation has been very popular down to our own times.<sup>1</sup> Yet it can scarcely be correct<sup>2</sup>; the name is in all probability a diminutive of (Celtic?) *Muca*, q. v. Cf. HELLWIG p. 12 f., BRADLEY, Academy 1894, June 2, p. 457, STEVENSON, ib. June 30, p. 536 ff., and Asser p. 227 ff., ECKHARDT p. 337.

*Piichil* LV 173.

A diminutive of *Pic*, q. v.? MÜLLER p. 70, ECKHARDT p. 337.

*Pyttel* lector BCS 250 (787).

See *Putta*. ECKHARDT p. 337. — Is OE *pyttel*, *pittel* 'hawk, kite' to be taken into consideration? Cf. *Puttuc*.

[*Smerel* mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund).

Probably a diminutive of Celtic *Smerius*, recorded by, e. g., Ellis, Intr. II p. 218; see HOLDER II 1592.]

*Soemel* Saefugling<sup>3</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 74, *Soemel* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435 (*Seomel* Geneal. Tib. B V 171), *Soemil* Nennius ch. 61, *Seomel* Flor. Worc. 559, p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.).

From the stem of OE *sōm* f. 'arbitration, agreement, reconciliation', *gesōm* 'unanimous, peaceable, friendly'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 434. Compound names containing that element are found

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KEMBLE, Names p. 100, FREEMAN, DNB I p. 154, BARDSLEY, Surnames p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NED 'mickle'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.



in OG (F 1353, BRUCKNER p. 307). — ECKHARDT p. 337, MÜLLENHOFF, Beowulf p. 67.

**Strygel** presbyter BCS 312 (803).

: OWScand. *strúgr* 'pride, haughtiness', Sw. dial. (RIETZ) *strüg* 'revengeful'? Cf. Þorbjörn *strúgr* JÓNSSON p. 255. — ECKHARDT p. 337.

[\***Títíl** : *Titillo* notario Beda HE IV 5 (673).

Probably not native; cf. HOLDER II 1856 ff. For instances of *Tytel* etc., see under *Tyttla*.]

[**Tochil** Ellis, Intr. II p. 239, is probably Scand. *Tochi*, *Toki*, which has been transformed in the same way as *Achil* discussed above. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 142, ECKHARDT p. 337.]

**Trygil** etc. : Hroðmund *Trygling*, *Tryg.* l T.tttwianing<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 120, *Trygil* Tytmaning Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438, *Trygil* Nennius ch. 59, *Trygils* Flor. Worc. p. 249 (geneal. reg. orient. angl.).

For the etymology one might adduce OE *trog* 'hollow vessel, trough', and its OWScand. equivalent *trog*, with the diminutive *trygill* (FALK-TORP, Et. Wb. 'trug'). The meaning certainly seems rather peculiar for a personal name. but cf., however, the common Scand. *Ketill* 'kettle'. HACKENBERG's derivation of the name (p. 98) from *trum* + *gísl* is at any rate not more convincing. — ECKHARDT p. 337.

**Tutel** DB IV p. 629 (Winton.).

Whether this name is really a derivation of *Tutta*, q. v., is questionable. Cf. HOLDER II 2022.

**Tymbel** BCS 196 (765).

From compounds such as *Tumberctus*, quoted under *Tum(m)a*? Very uncertain.

**Ut(t)el** : *Utele* biscope<sup>2</sup> BCS 165 (743)<sup>3</sup>, *Utel* abbas ib. 256 (789), 265 (793), 274 (793—6), *Utel* episcopus ib. 289 (798), 293 (799), *Utel* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 50, *Utel* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433, *Utel* Flor. Worc. p. 238 (præsul. hereford.); *Uttel* episcopus BCS 245 (785), *Uttel* abbas ib. 250 (787).

See *Utta*. — According to DCB IV p. 1072, *Utel*, *Uttel* and *Utol* are probably one and the same person.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254. In Nennius his father is called *Titinon*, in Flor. Worc. *Tytmon*.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Hereford c. 796—801; SEARLE BKN p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> 'Questionable' HADDAN-STUBBS III p. 339.

β. -ul, -ol.<sup>1</sup>

A.

(Unintelligible.)

**Duducol** (?) mon. Grueber p. 426 (Eadw. Conf.).

See *Duduc*. — Cf. *Dudecil*.

[**Tuddul** BCS 75, 76 (691—2).

See *Tudda*. — ECKHARDT p. 339.]

B.

(Unintelligible.)

**Addul** LV 286.

See *Adda*. — MÜLLER p. 76, ECKHARDT p. 339.

**Be(o)rcol** : *Bercol* BCS 154 (736), *Beorcol* comes ib. 157 (723—37), *Bercul* dux ib. 162 (742), *Bercul* patricius ib. 178 (749); *Beorcol* presbyter ib. 312 (803).

Perhaps not native; if genuine, is the name to be connected with OE *be(o)rc* 'birch'? — ECKHARDT p. 339.

**Fadol** comitis regis BCS 225 (778).<sup>2</sup>

: OE *fadian* 'to arrange, dispose, guide'? — ECKHARDT p. 339.

[**Gribol** Ellis, Intr. II p. 131 (Linc.) = *Grimbold* etc.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 51, FORSSNER p. 130. Cf. *Grichetel*, *Grichel* = *Grimcetel* BJÖRKMAN l. c.]

**Theabul** BCS 97, 98 (697).

From a stem *pūb* 'to swell'? Cf. OE *pūf* 'tuft', *pāft* 'thicket'; TORP, Wortschatz p. 187. Celtic according to STARK p. 3.

**Utol** episcopus BCS 201 (in an endorsement from 799—802).

See *Utta*. Cf. *Ut(t)el*. — ECKHARDT p. 339.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ECKHARDT p. 338 f., FORSSNER p. 63. — Some late instances are obviously only corrupt forms of names compounded with *-(w)ulf*, e. g. in Ellis, Intr. II : *Ardul* p. 41, *Arnul* p. 42, *Asul* p. 44, *Essul* p. 109 (cf. BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 32), *Hedul* p. 141, *Ringul* p. 206. Cf. FORSSNER p. 285 s. v. *Herpul*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fad(ol)* OET p. 427, *Fæder* KCD 133 (false, according to BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 38).

II. *α*. -(i)|*a*.

## 1. Medial vowel preserved.

## A.

(Unintelligible.)

**Hiddila** presbyter Beda HE IV 16. In RAINE, Hist. of York I pp. 205, 483 he is called *Hildila*.

See *Hidda*. — ECKHARDT p. 340.

[**Lefilla** LV 197 is, according to MÜLLER p. 70, probably a scribal error for *Lefing*, q. v. — ECKHARDT p. 340.]

## 2. Medial vowel syncopated.

## A.

(Intelligible.)

**Blaedla** LV 186, 203.<sup>1</sup>

: *Blæd*-, OE *blæd* 'blowing, blast; breath, spirit; life, mind; glory, splendour; prosperity'. SWEET, OET pp. 482, 606, marks the vowel as short in *Blaedla*, and as long in *Blaedsuith*. It is probably long in both cases; cf. on this question MÜLLER pp. 10, 186, CHADWICK, Studies in OE p. 96 f. — HELLWIG p. 32, MÜLLER pp. 70, 89, 140 ('der kleine Ruhmvolle'), ECKHARDT p. 339, F 309, 313.

**Mægla**, son of Port, Chron. 501, *Meagla* Flor. Worc. 501, *Megla* Henry Hunt. 501.

See *Mæg*. Cf. STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 36, CHADWICK, Origin p. 29, HOLDER II 379 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Blaedla*, *Bledla* rex Hunorum (Attila's brother) Beda HE I 13 is an error for *Bl(a)eda*; thus in Bede's source Marcellinus Comes. See PLUMMER's note II p. 26, SCHÖNFELD p. 51 and literature there quoted.



## B.

## a. Intelligible.

*Esla* Gewising<sup>1</sup>, Chron. A Preface, 552, 597, 855, *Esla* Asser ch. 1, *Esla* Aethelweard 857, *Esla* Flor. Worc. p. 253, *Eslus* Will. Malm. ch. 116; *Esla* Gewisling, Geneal. Tib. B V 173.

See *Esa*, *Osa*. Cf. Goth. *Ansila* (SCHÖNFELD p. 23, STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 36). — ECKHARDT p. 339.

## b. Unintelligible.

*Aetla*, *Etla* : *Aetla* episcopus<sup>2</sup> Beda HE IV 23, *Aetlam* (acc.) Flor. Worc. p. 240; *Etla* LV 229.<sup>3</sup>

See *Atta*. MÜLLER p. 70 and note, ECKHARDT p. 339.

*Tyttla* etc. : *Tyttla* Wuffing,<sup>4</sup> Geneal. Vesp. B VI 119, *Tyttla* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 438 (*Tyttla* Geneal. Tib. B V 172), *Tydil* Nennius ch. 59, *Tytili* (gen.) Beda HE II 15 (*Titeles* Transl. p. 175), *Tytel* Flor. Worc. 632, *Tyttla* ib. p. 249 (geneal. reg. orient. angl.).

See *Tutta*. ECKHARDT pp. 337, 340, ALEXANDER, Place-names of Oxfordshire p. 207 f. — Cf. *Titil*.

[\**Weatla* : *Weatlæ* (gen.) Flor. Worc. 1013.<sup>5</sup>

As appears from the context, this is merely a popular etymology. It is not improbable that OE *Wætlinga stræt*, *Wæclinga stræt* really contain a personal name, but it does not fall within the scope of the present work to decide what it is. King *Weatla*, \**Wætla* is not otherwise known.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Dorchester? Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 62, PLUMMER, Beda II p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances refer to the Hun king *Attila*, e. g. *Aetla* Widsith 18, 122, *Aetla* Chron. 443 A, *Attila* Beda HE I 13. Cf. SCHÖNFELD p. 274 f. and literature there quoted.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> ... 'in septentrionali plaga *Weatlinga-stretæ*, id est, strata quam filii *Weatlæ* regis, ab Orientale mare usque ad Occidentale, per Angliam straverunt'.

**β. -ula.****A.****(Intelligible.)**

**Ricula** (fem.) : *Ricula* Beda HE II 3<sup>1</sup>, *Ricolan* (gen.) Chron. 604, *Rigula* Flor. Worc. p. 250. Cf. *Ric'la* LVD p. 57 (12th cent.).  
 : *Ric-*, OE *rice* 'strong, powerful'. — MÜLLER p. 125, F 1253, FORSSNER p. 214; SCHÖNFELD p. 192.

**B.****(Unintelligible.)**

**Bacula** abb. Eddius, Wilfr. ch. 65; *Bacolan* abbatis BCS 223 (777), 232 (778—9), *Bacola* abbas ib. 238 (778—81).

See *Baca*. — ECKHARDT p. 339. Cf. also HOLDER I 325.

**γ. -ella.****B.****(Unintelligible.)**

**Ebbella** BCS 154 (736).

See *Ebba*. — ECKHARDT p. 339.

**δ. -ele.**

It may be doubted whether *-ele* is to be regarded merely as a dialectal form of *-ela* (cf. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 276, anm. 5), or as a strong form, coined from *el*-derivatives under the influence of *i-(e-)*names. Especially on account of the numerous instances of *Hemele* I feel most inclined to assume the latter alternative. — The only masc. appellative in *-ele* is *birele*, *byrele* 'pincerna', but this is not comparable, since it is probably nothing but fem. *birele* used to designate a male being; see KÄRRE, Nom. agentis in OE p. 63 ff.

**A.****a. Intelligible.**

**Winele** mon. Grueber p. 119 (Aethelstan).

See *Wine*. — ECKHARDT p. 340.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 275.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Dudele** (or *Dudel*) mon. Grueber p. 198 (Aethelr. II).

See *Dudd*.

## B.

## (Intelligible.)

**Hemele** : *Hemele* Geneal. Vesp. B VI 39 (episc. merc.)<sup>1</sup>, *Hæmele* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 433 (*Cemele* Geneal. Tib. B V 170), *Hemele* Flor. Wore. p. 242 (episc. licetfeld.), *Hemeli* Merciorum episcopus Sim. Durh. ch. 45, *Hemele* præsul æcclesiastice BCS 183 (c. 757; KCD 102 starred); *Hemeles* (gen.) p̃r BCS 200 (766),<sup>2</sup> *Hemele* ib. 224 (774?), *Hemeles* (gen.) ib. 256 (789)<sup>3</sup>, *Hemele* principi, *Hemele* patricii ib. 258 (790); *Hemele* comes ib. 624 (909)<sup>4</sup>. — *Hemela* dux (10th cent.?) LVH Index, quoted by Searle; I am not in a position to verify this instance.

See *Hemma*. — ECKHARDT p. 339, WILLIAMS, Anglia XXV p. 414, FORSSNER p. 142.

2. Names with a k-suffix.<sup>5</sup>I. α. -ic.<sup>6</sup>

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

[**Baldic** mon. Grueber pp. 192 (Eadw. II), 198 (Aethelr. II) is an error for *Baldric*, which is known as a moneyer's name from Aethelstan to Eadgar. See GRUEBER pp. 163, 191 etc.]

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lichfield 752—65; SEARLE BKN p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Is *Aemele* prefectus BCS 208 (772) the same person?

<sup>3</sup> 'ubi corpora requiescant *Hemeles* et *Dudæ*'.

<sup>4</sup> 'Quapropter *Hemele* comes dedit illam terram ubi ab incolis Hwitan cyrice nominatur'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. FICK p. XLII, STARK p. 56 and passim, KLUGE, Stammbildungslehre § 61, WREDE, Ostg. p. 195, F 351, ZIMMER, K. Z. XXXII p. 175, McCLURE, Early Welsh pers. names p. 266 f., MÜLLER p. 140, ECKHARDT p. 342 ff.

<sup>6</sup> On some coins -ic probably stands for -inc, -ing; this can be assumed especially where the corresponding names in -inc, -ing are found on coins from the same time, e. g. *Brunnic*, *Brynic*, *Duric* (p. 414), *Godic*, *Lifc*, *Mannic* Grueber, Index, *Swetic* Hildebrand p. 279. See Names in -ing.



[**Beornic** etc. : Wegbrand Bernicing, *Beornic* Beldæging<sup>1</sup>, Geneal. Vesp. B VI 82, *Beornic* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 435, *Beornec* Nennius ch. 57; *Benoc* Branding, Chron. 547 BC, Flor. Worc. 547, *Beonoc* Henry Hunt. 547. Cf. *Beorn*, *Beornd* Flor. Worc. p. 253 (geneal. reg. north.).

See *Beorn*. ECKHARDT p. 345. — The name is, however, perhaps more probably derived from *Bernicia*, which is of Celtic origin; cf. CHADWICK, Origin p. 156, RHYS, Celtic Britain pp. 90, 113, HACKENBERG p. 111 f.]

**Dun(n)ic** : *Dunic* mon. Grueber p. 191 (Eadweard II); *Dunnic* mon. Keary p. 40 (Mercia, Ceolwulf I).

See *Dunn*. Possibly the same as *Dun(n)inc*, -ing, though no contemporary instances of that name are on record. Cf. p. 149 note 6. — SUNDÉN, Hypocor. suff. -y p. 145.

**Leofic** mon. Keary p. 237 (Eric).<sup>2</sup>

See *Leof*. Cf. the preceding name. — SEARLE "normalizes" *Leofic* into *Leofwig*.

#### b. Unintelligible.

**Allic** Ellis, Intr. II pp. 18, 281, *Alich* ib. p. 281.

See *Alla*. Perhaps not genuine.

[**Dudec** BCS 242 (781; KCD 144 starred).

The ending -ec shows that this form must stand for *Duduc*, q v., since unstressed *i* was preserved before a palatal consonant; see BÜLBING §§ 361, 416, LUICK, Hist. Gr. § 325. — ECKHARDT p. 345.]

**Edic** Ellis, Intr. II p. 83.

See *Eda*. An error for *Edric* ib. p. 86 ff.?

#### B.

##### (Unintelligible.)

**Aefic**, **Efic** etc. : *Aefic* þæs cynges heahgerefa<sup>3</sup> Chron. 1002 E, *Aefices* (gen.) ib. 1010 E, *Eafic* Flor. Worc. 1002, *Aefici* (gen.) ib. 1010, *Eafic* Sim. Durh. ch. 119, *Efici* (gen.) ib. ch. 122, *Aefic*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Leuicus* BCS 135 (716), *Leubuco* (abl.) ib. 177 (748) probably stand for *Leofric*; cf. KCD 66, 98 (starred).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 423.

para æþelinga discsten (for 'discðegn') KCD 693 (before 995, according to Thorpe p. 288), *Aeficum* præfectum ib. 719 (1012); *Aefic* decanus on Heofeshamme Chron. 1037 C; *Aeuic* monachus KCD 736 (1021—23), *Euich* monachus ib. 1316 (1020); *Aefic* mon. Grueber p. 197 (Aethelr. II), *Aefice* ib. pp. 262 (Cnut)<sup>1</sup>, 302 (Harold I), *Aefic* mon. Hildebrand pp. 135 (Aethelr. II), 284, *Aefice* ib. pp. 215 (Cnut), 365 (Harold I); *Efic* mon. Grueber p. 245, Hildebrand p. 285, Holm 565; cf. *Eeig* Holm 567; *Auic* Ellis, Intr. II p. 44.

See *Afa*, *Ab(b)a*. — From the absence of *i*-mutation in certain *ic*-names HOLM p. 34 draws the conclusion that these formations must date from a comparatively late period, but, as in the case of many other names, we may assume that the vowel of the primary name has here influenced that of the derived name. Moreover, diminutive names in *-ik-* are found in Indo-Eur. languages since very ancient times.

[*Burricus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 63, is from *Burgrīc*; see ECKHARDT p. 345. Cf. *Burra*.]

[*Bynic* mon. Grueber p. 198, Hildebrand p. 74 (Aethelr. II).

As far as the form is concerned this might certainly be derived from *Buna*, *Bynna*, but it is no doubt an error for *Brynīc*, *Brynīnc* Hildebrand l. c. — ECKHARDT p. 345.]

*Byttic* monk LVH (c. 1030; quoted from Searle), *Byttices* (gen.) KCD 935 (c. 1055).

Probably belonging to the stem *but(t)-* 'abgehauen, abgestumpft', found in OWS cand. *butr* 'short piece of a tree trunk', OE *buttuc* 'end, small piece of land' etc.; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 274, and NED 'butt' sb<sup>3</sup>. Cf. JÓNSSON p. 319, KAHLE p. 236.

[*Calic* mon. Grueber pp. 244 (Cnut), 320 (Harthacnut).

The instance is taken from an inscription *Godric Calic* Hildebrand pp. 272, 402, where HILDEBRAND (p. VII f.), as usual, takes the latter name to be a byname. I cannot suggest any convincing etymology; OE *calic* 'chalice' (< Lat. *calicem*) is scarcely possible. — *Cælic* Widsith 20 is Finn. *Kalew*; see HEINZEL, Wiener Akad. Sitz.-Ber. 1887 p. 507; cf. also GEVENICH p. 75, EKWALL, Anglia Beibl. 1919 p. 226.]

[*Cerdic* etc. is probably of Celtic origin; cf. STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 33 ff., CHADWICK, Origin pp. 27, 30 ff., OMAN p. 224 ff., GEVENICH p. 87 f., EKWALL, Anglia Beibl. 1919 p. 226.]

<sup>1</sup> For *Aelfric*? Cf. GRUEBER p. 243.

[*lric*, discussed by ECKHARDT p. 345, is Scand.; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 34 f.]

**Ufic** : *Ufic* BCS 648 (925--41), *Ufic* clericus ib. 1139 (965--70), 1180, 1181, 1182 (966), 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208 (967), 1232, 1233, 1237, 1238, 1239 (969), *Ufic* clericus ib. 1240 (969), *Ufic* clericus ib. 1241, 1242 (969); KCD 616, 617 (977), 618, 619, 620 (978), 623 (979), 627 (980), 631 (981), 634 (982), 637 (983), 645 (984), 653 (985), 682 (after 972); *Ufic* ib. 788 (1049). *Usices* (gen.) KCD 802 (before 1056) is probably a misreading of this name.

See *Ufa*. — ECKHARDT p. 345.

NOTE. For *Cynech* LV 340 and *Uillech* ib. 473, which ECKHARDT p. 345 gives as belonging to this group, see MÜLLER p. 71.

## β. -uc, -oc.<sup>1</sup>

### A.

#### a. Intelligible.

**Deduc** LV 106.

See *Deda*. — MÜLLER p. 73, ECKHARDT p. 344.

**Hwituc** BCS 609 (904).

See *Hwita*. — ECKHARDT p. 343.

**Uiduc** LV 229.

See *Wid*. SWEET, OET p. 515., gives the vowel as short. Possibly Celtic; see HOLDER III 292. — MÜLLER p. 73, ECKHARDT p. 344 and note 2, SUNDÉN, Hypocor. suff. -y p. 145.

**Uilloc** BCS 111 (704). Cf. *Uillech* LV 473.

See *Willa*. ECKHARDT p. 344, SUNDÉN, Hypocor. suff. -y p. 145.

**Winuc** (?) mon. Grueber pp. 139 (Eadmund), 153 (Eadred).

See *Wine*. According to GRUEBER = \**Winulf*? It is unnecessary to assume this, especially since that name is not recorded in OE.

#### b. Unintelligible.

**Duduc** BCS 108 (704), 395 (828), *Duduc* diaconus ib. 419 (838), *Duduc* ib. 426 (839), 437 (841), 442 (843), 449 (845), *Duduc*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MÜLLER p. 140 f. — In a few names -oc stands for -a owing to misreading by the scribe : *Aelloc*, *Oceoc* BCS 597, *Alloc* ib. 598, and possibly also in other instances. Cf. BCS II p. 250, note 1.



minister ib. 467 (853), *Duduc* miles ib. 486 (855), *Duduc* m̃ ib. 538 (873). Other instances refer to *Duduc(a)*, Bishop of Wells 1033—60, who was a foreigner (FORSSNER p. 61).

See *Dudd*. — ECKHARDT p. 343. Cf. *Dudec*.

\**Inguc* : *Inguces* (gen.) mon. Grueber p. 150 (Eadred).

See *Inga*. According to the editor = *Ingulf*?

*Onoc* comes BCS 154 (736).

See *Ona*. — ECKHARDT p. 344.

## B.

### a. Intelligible.

*Honoc* LV 199.

See *Hana*. — MÜLLER p. 73, ECKHARDT p. 344.

### b. Unintelligible.

[*Balluc* mon. Grueber p. 244 (Cnut).

This occurs as *Mataðan* (*Maðan*) *Bal(l)uc* Hildebrand p. 251, where the editor (p. VII) interprets *Balluc* as a byname. In that case it would be OE *bealluc* 'ballock, testicle' (cf. TORP, Nynorsk etym. ordb. 'ball'), but it seems very doubtful whether such a byname would really have been used officially among the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore more probable to assume that *Balluc* is a separate name (GRUEBER p. 246) and, like *Mataðan*, of Celtic origin; cf. HOLDER I 339.]

*Bralluc* LV 222.

The etymologies suggested by MÜLLER p. 72 and WYLD, E. St. XXXII p. 400, are both very uncertain. The name is perhaps Celtic. — ECKHARDT p. 344.

*Coluduc* LV 337.

Germanic? Cf., however, MÜLLER p. 73.

*Huduc* BCS 89 (696; KCD 40 starred).

See *Huda*. — ECKHARDT p. 343.

*Lulluc* BCS 439 (842), 442 (843), *Lulluc* ministri ib. 451 (847).

See *Lull*. — ECKHARDT p. 343.

*Puttuc* : *Puttuces* (gen.) BCS 102 (701; KCD 997 starred), *Puttuc* prefecti ib. 1331 = 159 B (739).

See *Putta*. ECKHARDT p. 343 f. — Possibly the same word as is found as a byname three centuries later, in Aelfricus *Puttuc*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. OWS scand. *þöllr* JÓNSSON p. 319. KAHLE p. 237.

Flor. Worc. 1023<sup>1</sup>, which is usually taken to mean 'kite'.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise NE *puttock* is not on record until early in the 15th cent.; see NED. Cf. *Pyttel*.

[*Rinuc* mon. Grueber p. 142 (Eadred) is probably an error for *Rinulf*, as the editor assumes. Cf. FORSSNER p. 209.]

*Truttuc* BCS 116 (706). *Turtuc* miles ib. 124 (709; KCD 60 starred) is no doubt the same man.

Scarcely native.

*Ufuc* clericus, Earle, Handbook p. 207 (984; quoted from Searle). See *Ufa*.

NOTE. In OE a few names in *-ac* are also recorded. That a genuine diminutive suffix of this kind should actually have existed, is, however, unlikely; ECKHARDT has at any rate no appellative in *-ac*. Therefore the forms in question are probably to be regarded as more or less corrupt: *Tutac* minister BCS 597 (901) = *Tata*; *Manac* mon. Grueber p. 332, Hildebrand p. 450 (Eadw. Conf.) = *Man(n)a*; *Alfac* Ellis, Intr. II p. 15 = *Aelfheah*, *Bernac* ib. p. 48 = *Beornheah*, *Willac* ib. p. 411 = *Wilheah* (and several parallel cases in DB). The two remaining instances are somewhat more difficult to explain. *Landac* (?) mon. Grueber p. 117 (Aethelstan) seems to be the same as *Landuc* Num. Chron. 1883 p. 285<sup>3</sup>, in which case it is probably Cont.-Germ. *Lantuch* F 1003. Native names in *Land-* are only rarely found; cf. MÜLLER p. 81, FORSSNER p. 172. *Duddac* BCS 426 (839) is rather puzzling, since *Duduc* occurs in the same charter as the name of another person, but it would be too daring to assume the existence of a diminutive suffix *-ac* on the authority of one sole example.

## II. *a. -(i)ca.*

### 1. Medial vowel preserved.

#### A.

##### a. *Intelligible.*

*Hereca* : *Herecan* abbatis BCS 181 (755—7), 185 (758), *Hereca* abbas BL 135 (755—86).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN pp. 122, 170.

<sup>2</sup> DNB I p. 166, SKEAT, Elym. Dict.

<sup>3</sup> *Landæ* (?) mon. Grueber p. 83 (Eadw. the Elder) is obviously another spelling of this name.

: *Here-*, OE *here* 'troop, army'. MÜLLER p. 115, F 760, 764, ECKHARDT p. 342. — Cf. *Hering*.

**Hysica** LV 385.

See *Hyse*. MÜLLER p. 71, ECKHARDT p. 342.

**Tætica** LV 172.

See *Tata*. MÜLLER p. 72, ECKHARDT p. 342, BJÖRKMAN, E. St. LII p. 150, note 1 (*Tætila* misprint for *Tætica*).

#### b. Unintelligible.

\***Bettica** : *Bettice* homo Wluini, Ellis, Intr. II p. 45 (Hertf.).

See *Betti*, *Bettu*. Mercian form (SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 276, anm. 5). ECKHARDT p. 342.

**Ludica** etc. : *Ludica* rex<sup>1</sup>, on coins Keary p. 42<sup>2</sup>, *Ludeca* Geneal. Corp. Chr. 436 (not in Geneal. Tib. B V), *Ludecha* rex BCS 267 (793), *Ludæca* dux ib. 378, *Ludeca* dux ib. 379 (824), *Ludecan* Mierena cyning Chron. 825 AE, *Ludica* ib. F, *Ludecan* Flor. Worc. 825, p. 252 (geneal. reg. merc.). — *Ludeca* mon. Grueber p. 73 (Aelfred), cf. *Ludig*.

See *Luda*. ECKHARDT p. 342. Cf. OG *Ludeko* STARK p. 56; RATHMANN, Lautl. Gestalt. engl. Personennamen p. 22. — The nom. ending *-an* seems to point to Celtic origin or influence, but I have not been able to find any Celtic name of this kind. Thus the king ought to be called *Ludica*, not *Ludican*, *Ludecan*, as his name is written even in the works of modern historians (OMAN p. 394).

#### B.

##### (Unintelligible.)

**Aes(s)ica** : *Aesica* puer Beda HE IV 8 (*Aesica*, *Esica* Transl. p. 388); *Aesica* BCS 98 (697), *Aessica* ib. 97 (697).

Origin doubtful; cf. MÜLLER p. 66 ('Esi'), CHADWICK, Studies in OE p. 186, SWEET, OET p. 596. — Cf. *Aese*.

<sup>1</sup> King of Mercia 825—7; SEARLE BKN p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> KEARY reads *Ludican*, but at least on the coin reproduced pl. IX, 14, the inscription is *Ludica*.



## 2. Medial vowel syncopated.

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

**Brynca** LV 196, 217.

See *Brun.* — MÜLLER p. 71.

**Dremca** LV 104, 199, *Dremka* ib. 95.

: *Drēam*-, OE *drēam* 'joy'. MÜLLER pp. 71, 79, ECKHARDT p. 342, CHADWICK, *Studies in OE* p. 97.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Bedca** : *Bedca* Sigefugling<sup>1</sup> Sax. Geneal. 15, *Bedca* Flor. Worc. p. 250 (geneal. reg. orient. sax.), *Biedca* Henry Hunt. 527.

See *B(a)eda*. ECKHARDT p. 342, SWEET, OET p. 610. — CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 219 (after GRIMM, D. Myth. III p. 382) erroneously identifies this name, which has a long *ē*, with OHG *Patuhho*, OE *Beadeca*, *Baduca*; see below. Cf. also HACKENBERG p. 95.

**Hynca** LV 208.

See *Hun.* — MÜLLER p. 171.

## B.

(Intelligible.)

**Hysca** LV 9.

See *Husa.* — MÜLLER p. 71, ECKHARDT p. 342.

*β.* -uca.

## A.

(Intelligible.)

**Aluca** LV 285.<sup>2</sup>

: *Alu*-, OE *ealu* 'ale'? MÜLLER pp. 74, 94, ECKHARDT p. 342. Doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> For *Aluca* in the geneal. of Wessex see under *Elesa*.

**Baduca** etc. : *Baduca* LV 217, 228, 353, *Beoduca* ib. 102. Cf. *Beadeca* (<\**Beaduca*) Widsith 112.

See *Badu*. MÜLLER pp. 3, 74, ECKHARDT p. 342; BINZ p. 152, CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 219. — Cf. *Bedca*.

### γ. -eca.

In this group have been brought together a few names, in which it cannot be decided whether the original ending was *-uca* or *-ica*; in the latter case the stem vowel must have been transferred from the primary name (ECKHARDT p. 343). It must also be noted that, owing to the great uncertainty in spelling, it is not possible to make such an arrangement of these *k*-derivatives as would be quite satisfactory from a philological point of view. Thus in KCD 762—956 I have found these seven spellings, all referring to the above-mentioned Bishop *Duduc* of Wells : *Duduc*, *Duduco*, *Dudoca*, *Dudica*, *Doduca*, *Dodica*, *Dodeca*. The same man is called *Dudeca* Will. Malm. Gesta Pontif. ch. 90, and *Bodeca* (!) Flor. Worc. p. 237. — Cf. MÜLLER p. 72, note.

### A.

#### (Intelligible.)

\***Leofeca** : *Leovecæ* (Lat. gen.) Flor. Worc. 1006.<sup>1</sup>

See *Leof*. — ECKHARDT p. 342.

**Maneca** mon. Grueber p. 151 (Eadred).

See *Man(n)*. — ECKHARDT p. 342.

### B.

#### (Unintelligible.)

**Hebeca** mon. Keary p. 75 (Canterbury, Ceolnoth), Grueber p. 56 (Aelfred). For the spelling *Nebeca* Grueber pp. 14 (Aethelwulf), 33 (Aelfred) see KEARY p. XC.

: OE *hebban* 'heave, raise, lift'? — *Hebba* BCS 461 is an error for *Hedda*.

[**Risleca** or **Sisleca** mon. Keary pp. 126, 127 (Eadmund).]

Probably corrupt; at any rate not native. Cf. F 1279, 1344.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 427.

$\delta$ . -ca.

Three names, none of which is perhaps a real diminutive.

## B.

(Unintelligible.)

**Alca** Thorpe p. 639 (11th cent.; the same instance as Searle quotes from Earle p. 254?).

\***Etenca** : *Etencan* (gen.) BCS 89 (696; KCD 40 starred).

**Seolca** etc. : *Seolca* mon. Grueber p. 201, Hildebrand pp. 75, 164 (Aethelr. II), Grueber p. 247, Hildebrand pp. 312, 313 (Cnut); *Syolca* Grueber p. 201, Hildebrand p. 164 (Aethelr. II); *Seorca* Hildebrand p. 478 (Aethelr. II).

OE *seolc*, *seoloc* 'silk' is certainly not to be thought of as an etymon. — Cf. *Seoloe* f.

## 3. Minor groups.

I.  $\alpha$ . -ig.

## A.

(Unintelligible.)

**Dudig** : *Dudig* minister BCS 543 (871—7), 568 = *Dudi* ib. 569 (892), *Dudig* vir venerabilis ib. 585 (901), *Dudig* minister ib. 595 (901); *Dudig* mon. Grueber pp. 65, 80 (Aelfred), 90, 95 (Eadw. the Elder), 130 (Eadmund), 147 (Eadred). Cf. *Dadig* mon. Holm 7 (Eadred).

See *Dudd*. — HOLM p. 28 f.

**Ludig** mon. Keary pp. 62, 63 (Mercia, Burgred)<sup>1</sup>, Grueber p. 73 (Aelfred).<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ludi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 182.

See *Luda*.

<sup>1</sup> Index p. 269 has *Ludiga*.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin '*Ludeca* or *Ludig*'. The latter is undoubtedly the true reading.



## B.

## (Unintelligible.)

[**Leonig** mon. (Line.) Grueber p. 320 (Harthaenut).  
: OWS cand. *Liónn* (LIND)?]

[**Lullig** minister BCS 469 (854; KCD 270 starred).  
Probably an error for *Lulling*, q. v.]

[**Wesig** mon. Grueber p. 247 (Cnut).

For *Wihtsi(g)* ib., or *Wensige* p. 201?]

## β. -i(g)a.

MÜLLER has discussed two of the following names (pp. 75, 141). He interprets *-ia* as *-iga* (SIEVERS, *AgS. Gr.* § 214, 5), and the correctness of this assumption seems to be proved by the coexistence of *Huniga*, *Hunia*. Whether the *i(g)a*-names are really weak adjectives, as MÜLLER states, is, however, more doubtful; in my opinion they are rather to be looked upon as weak derivatives from such names as *Dudig*, *Ludig*.

## A.

## a. Intelligible.

**Brynja** mon. Grueber p. 244, Hildebrand p. 263 (Cnut).

See *Brun*.

**Cynia** LV 213.

See *Cyna*. — MÜLLER p. 75.

**Widia**, **Wudia** etc. : *Widia*, *Widiia*, *Wudia* mon. Hildebrand p. 294, *Widia* ib. pp. 313 (Cnut), 363, 364, *Widige*, *Widiia* p. 364, *Widia*, *Widig*, *Wydia* p. 375 (Harold I), *Widiia* p. 458 (Eadw. Conf.); *Widia* or *Wudia* mon. Grueber p. 247, *Widna* p. 293 (Cnut), *Widige* ib. 304, *Wudia* (*Widia*) p. 317, *Widig* p. 318 (Harold I), *Widica* p. 446, *Wida*, *Widia* p. 448 (Eadw. Conf.); *Widia* mon. Holm 604 (Cnut), *Widige* ib. 625 (Harold I); cf. further *Godwine Widia*, *G. Widii* Hildebrand p. 311 (Cnut), *G. Widi* p. 374 (Harold I), *G. Wudi* p. 407 (Harthaenut), *Godwine Widia* Grueber p. 331, *God Widia*, *Godwine Widia* p. 447 (Eadw. Conf.), where HILDEBRAND (p. VIII) takes *Widia* etc. as a

byname. That each is an independent name, however, seems to be proved by the fact that Winchester coins from Eadw. Conf.'s time bear as inscriptions both *Godwine*, *Widia* and *Godwine Widia*. GRUEBER, too, in all these cases interprets the names as belonging to two separate persons. — *Widius* Ellis, Intr. II p. 267, *Wdia*, *Widie* DB IV p. 629 (Winton). Cf. *Widia* Waldere, II, 4, 9, *Wudga* Widsith 124, 130.

*Widia*, *Wudga* in the epics is a hypocoristic form of Goth. *Vidigoia* (Jordanes), and *Widia*, *Wudia* on the coins etc. is probably the same as this ancient name, though it is, indeed, surprising not to find it recorded until the 11th cent. From an OE point of view *Widia*, *Wudia* can scarcely be a short form, but since it belongs to the stem of *Wud(d)a*, q. v., it has been given here. Cf. BINZ pp. 187, 211, HEUSLER, Z. f. d. A. LII pp. 102, 105, SCHÖNFELD p. 263, CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 48 ff., HOLM p. 68.

#### b. Unintelligible.

**Hunia**, **Huniga** mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 38 (Aethelr. II).

See *Hun*.

[**Ludia** mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 55 (Aethelr. II) is evidently only an error for *Lud(d)a*, q. v.]

### B.

(Intelligible.)

**Telia** mon. Grueber p. 123 (Eadmund).

See *Tella*.

### II. -n-.

A few names of doubtful character. Cf. MÜLLER p. 141.

### A.

(Intelligible.)<sup>1</sup>

**Tilne** LV 457.

See *Tila*. — MÜLLER p. 76.

**Wilne** mon. Grueber p. 103 (Aethelstan).

See *Willa*. Possibly only an error for *Winele* ib.

<sup>1</sup> *Tuduna* BCS 111 (704; *Tudima* KCD 52) is probably Celtic; see *Tuda*.

## B.

## a. Intelligible.

**Lifna** LV 207.

: OE *lif* 'life'? MÜLLER p. 76. According to SWEET, OET p. 504, the *i* is short.

## b. Unintelligible.

**Aebbino**, fem., LV 29.

See *Abba*. — MÜLLER p. 76.

## III. -ede.

Except in the following names -ede does not occur as a diminutive suffix in OE; see ECKHARDT p. 349 f. It might possibly be interpreted as a parallel form to -ede (in OE *hemeðe*, OHG *hemidi* 'under-garment' KLUGE, *Stammbildungslehre* § 60); cf. the interchange -od ~ -oð ECKHARDT l. c. The absence of *i*-mutation in the names may be due to a transference of the stem vowel.

Formally the *ede*-names coincide with some OE adjectives in -ede, e. g. *hōcede* 'curved', *hoferede* 'humpbacked' KLUGE § 234. Yet they can scarcely be equated with those adjectives; note the signification.

## A.

## (Intelligible.)

**Mon(n)ede** : *Monede* præfecti BCS 389 (825), *Monnede* præfecti ib. 390 (825), *Monnedes* præfecti ib. 391, 392 (826), *Monnedes*<sup>1</sup> minister ib. 393 (826), *Monnædæ* dux ib. 395 (828), *Monnede* præfecti ib. 398 (c. 830).

See *Mon(n)*.

## B.

## (Unintelligible.)

**Luhhede** presbiter BCS 379 (824).

See *Lukha*.

**Lullede** dux BCS 467 (853), 468, 469, 474, 478, 481 (854), 486 (855), *Lullædæ* dux ib. 491 (856). *Sullede* dux BCS 470 (854)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following name *Hunes*. The -s in both these names is due to an error.



and *Bullede* dux ib. 477 (854) is obviously an error for *Lullede*; thus in KCD 271, 1053. Cf. also *Lulle* dux BCS 475 (854).

See *Lull*.

[**Ucede** (?) : *Uce(a)de* mon. Grueber p. 269 (Cnut), *Ucede(e)* ib. p. 310 (Harold I), *Ucede(e)* mon. Hildebrand pp. 227 (Cnut), 348 (Harold I).

Possibly a derivative from *Ucca* LVD pp. 8, 20 (12th, 13th cent.), and the byname Wulfstan *Uccea* BCS 1131, W. *Ucca*, *Uccan* (dat.) ib. 1132 (c. 980). Scarcely native; cf. HOLDER III 12.]

NOTE. The suffix *-cin* that occurs in a few OE names is of LG origin; cf. FORSSNER p. VIII f.

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## V. Names in -ing.

Among the Germanic languages Old English alone preserves a living patronymic formation in *-ing*.<sup>1</sup> Such patronymics are best known from the genealogies of the Chronicle, but they are also found in the epics and, more sporadically, in charters.<sup>2</sup> These formations are not to be looked upon as names in a proper sense,<sup>3</sup> and therefore they have not been included in this work. Here are given only such *ing*-names as occur independently.

The great majority of those names probably consist of original patronymics that have passed over into a kind of byname and then into independent names. This development is easily understood. The son of a man called *Deorwulf* or *Deor(a)* — both names possibly used about the same person — was *Wulfstan (Deoring)*.<sup>4</sup> The patronymic *Deoring* might without difficulty be associated with the corresponding adjective *dēor* 'brave, bold', i. e. it became parallel to such OE words as *dēorling* 'darling', *lȳtling* 'little one', *fleaming* 'fugitive', *hōring* 'adulterer'.<sup>5</sup> *Deoring* might then be employed as an independent name just as well as *Deorling*, *Horling*.

<sup>1</sup> KLUGE, *Stammbildungslehre* § 26 a. — For patronymic formations in general see KLEINPAUL, *Menschen- und Völkernamen* p. 107 ff. Cf. also HELLQUIST, *Sv. ortn. på -inge* p. 220 ff., and literature there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Place-names are, as usual, left out of consideration.

<sup>3</sup> GOODALL, *Place-names of S.-W. Yorkshire* p. 13, gives a somewhat erroneous account of the OE patronymics. According to him, they were used — in pre-English and early OE times — in nearly the same way as the hereditary surnames, which did not become current until the Middle Ages. It is quite obvious that in *Ida (wæs) Eopping*, the latter cannot be put on a level with a modern surname; it is merely an accidental, specific formation to express the filial relation = *(wæs) Eoppan sunu*. Cf. *Wulf Wonreding* *Beowulf* 2965 = *sunu Wonredes* *ib.* 2971.

<sup>4</sup> Traces of the second member are only rarely found in patronymics; see LUNDGREN, *Fornsv. personnamn på -ing och -ung* p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> BOTH, *Die kons. Suffixe ae. Konkreta u. Kollektiva* p. 79 ff.

KLUGE has pointed out that *-ing* is probably etymologically connected with an Indo-Eur. diminutive suffix, though its purely diminutive function has been preserved only in a few words, e. g. OWScand. *yrmlingr* 'little snake', *ketlingr* 'little cat'. On the whole diminution and descent often interchange<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing if, under the influence of patronymics, diminutives etc., even other independent *ing*-names were formed. Originally they were perhaps bynames<sup>2</sup>. It must at any rate be assumed in the case of some *ing*-names that they have not originated as patronymics. STARK, like ECKHARDT p. 333, evidently believed that all *ing*-names were patronymics and therefore omitted them<sup>3</sup>.

Especially in the case of early names it will be advisable to take the same view as is held by MÜLLER. He regards the *ing*-names as ambiguous (p. 141); thus *Billing* = 'der mit dem Schwerte Versehene, der Kämpfer', or 'Sohn des *Bil*, *Billa* etc.'<sup>4</sup>. As for the *ing*-names of, for instance, the 11th cent. it seems very likely that the sense of their originally patronymic character had diminished to a great extent. At the end of the OE period the patronymic *ing*-formation probably lived a rather artificial life in the genealogies, being copied from one chronicle to another<sup>5</sup>. That in late OE *ing*-names were given without reference to the father's name, appears from *Duding* and *Snelling*, q. v.

An interesting parallel to the development of the patronymic *-ing* into an ordinary name suffix is offered by the Greek termination *-ιδης* (*-ιδας*), *-ιάδης*; see FICK p. XLVI f., MOREL in DAREMBERG's Dict. des Antiquités IV p. 91.

Owing to the peculiar nature of the *ing*-names they cannot

<sup>1</sup> Stammbildungslehre §§ 23 ff., 55 ff., 100.

<sup>2</sup> It may be doubted whether we are concerned with patronymics or bynames in cases such as Ealdulf *Bosing* Chron. 778 E, Ailword *Pudding* Thorpe p. 634.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. RUPRECHT, Germania XIII p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> This is not necessarily to be interpreted as if *Billing* really was the son of *Bil*, *Billa* etc.; it only implies that *Billing* could be associated with such names.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Will. Malm. ch. 68 : 'Nepos Faramundi fuit Meroveus, a quo omnes post eum reges Merovingi vocati sunt. Eodem modo et filii regum Anglorum a patribus patronymica sumpserunt; ut filius Edgari, Edgaring; filius Edmundi, Edmunding, vocentur; et ceteri in hunc modum; communiter vero Athelingi dicuntur'.



be arranged on the same principles as the preceding names. Here the task will be to ascertain, not which are short forms of compound names, but which can be assumed to have originated as patronymics.

## 1. Original patronymics.

### α. Primary names recorded.

#### a. Ambiguous.

("Intelligible").

**Beoring** KCD 1351 (11th cent.).

See *Beorus*. Doubtful.

**Billing** LV 78, 79. Cf. *Billing* Widsith 25.

See *Bil.* MÜLLER pp. 74, 141; BINZ p. 221, CHAMBERS, Widsith p. 196, HOLTHAUSEN, *Beowulf* I p. 120.

**Bruning, Bryning** etc.<sup>1</sup> : *Bruninc*<sup>2</sup> mon. Grueber p. 190 (Eadgar), *Bruninc*, *Bryninc*, *Byrning*, *Bynic* ib. 198, *Bruninc* ib. 218 (Aethelr. II), *Bruninc*, *Bruning*, *Brunnic*<sup>3</sup> etc. ib. 244, *Bruninc* ib. 283, *Brunin* ib. 288 (Cnut), *Brunic*, *Bruninc*, *Brunninc*, *Bryninc* etc. ib. 330, *Buninc*, *Bruninc* ib. 372, *Bruninc*, *Brunnic* ib. 389, *Brynnic*, *Bruning* ib. 390, *Bruninc* ib. 434 (Eadw. Conf.); cf. *Briuninc* ib. 161 (Eadwig); *Bruninc*, *Bruning*, *Bryninc*, *Bryninc*, *Bȳnic*, *Byri* (!), *Byrning* Hildebrand p. 74, *Byrninc* ib. 475 (Aethelr. II), *Brunic* ib. 204, 219, *Bruninc*, *Brunnic*, *Bryninc* ib. 263, *Brunic*, *Bruninc*, *Bruning* ib. 294 (Cnut), *Brunic*, *Buninc* (!) ib. 436<sup>4</sup>, *Brunic*, *Bruninc*, *Bryninc* ib. 440, *Bruninc* ib. 441, 445 (Eadw. Conf.); *Bruning* Holm 607 (Cnut); — *Bryning* scirgerefa KCD 755 (before 1038); *Bruning* Thorpe pp. 617, 635 (11th cent.); *Bruning* Ellis, Intr. I p. 387, II pp. 61, 299, *Bruningus* DB IV p. 605 (Exon.).

See *Brun.* — BJÖRKMAN, *Namenk.* p. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Though these names are perhaps not always identical, I have here. given them under one heading because on coins they obviously often denote the same person.

<sup>2</sup> For the ending *-inc* see SIEVERS, *Ags. Gr.* § 215, HILDEBRAND DB p. 360. HOLM p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note under *-ic*.

<sup>4</sup> *Brunn*, *Bruinne* ib. is probably the same name. GRUEBER p. 330 reads *Brunwine* for the latter.

**Chening** Ellis, Intr. II p. 60.

See *Coen*. Cf. *Chenna*.

[**Col(l)ing, Culling** : *Colinc* mon. Grueber p. 434 (Eadw. Conf.), *Culling* mon. Num. Chron. 1880 p. 72 (Eadw. Conf.); *Colling* Thorpe p. 617 (11th cent.), *Collinc* Ellis, Intr. II p. 70, *Cullingus* ib. p. 306, *Colling* DB IV p. 624 (Winton.). Cf. *Collinge* LVD p. 6 (12th cent.). Byname or patronymic in Aluuard *Collinc* Ellis, Intr. I p. 371, Aluuardus *Colinc*, Ailuuardus *Collinc*, Aluuard *Culling* DB IV p. 606 (Exon.)?

Probably not genuine. Cf. under *Cola* above, and BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 56.]

**Dealing** etc. : *Dealing* mon. Keary p. 40 (Mercia, Ceolwulf I), *Dialinc* ib. 46 (Burgred), *Dealing* ib. 66 (Ceolwulf II); *Dealine* or *Dealing* mon. Grueber p. 65 (Aelfred).

See *Dealla*, *Diala*.

**Deoring** etc. : *Deoring* miles BCS 548 (880; KCD 312 starred); *Deorinc* mon. Grueber p. 244 (Cnut), *Dirinc*, *Dyrinc* ib. 330, 344 (Eadw. Conf.); *Deorinc* mon. Hildebrand p. 264 (Cnut), *Dirinc* ib. 431 (Eadw. Conf.); is *Duric*, *Durinc* mon. Grueber p. 414, *Wirinc* p. 384 (Eadw. Conf.) the same name? — *Derinc*, *Dering*, *Deringus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 74, *Derinc* ib. p. 307.

See *Diar*.

**Dun(n)ing** etc. : *Dunincg* archidiaconus BCS 497 (859); *Dunninc* or *Duninc* mon. Grueber p. 32, *Dunninc* ib. 40, 66 (Aelfred), 159 (Eadwig), *Duninc* ib. 377, *Dunninc* ib. 378, *Duning*, *Duninc* ib. 390 (Eadw. Conf.); cf. *Duinc* ib. 58 (Aelfred); *Dunning* Thorpe pp. 617, 649 (11th cent.); *Dunning* Ellis, Intr. I p. 406, II pp. 76, 308, *Dunninc* ib. II p. 76.

See *Dunn*. — Cf. *Dun(n)ic*.

**Goding** etc. : *Goding* diaconus BCS 1166, 1167 (965), 1184 (960–72), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 1205 (967), 1299 (974), KCD 612, *Godingc* clericus ib. 615 (977), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 623 (979), *Godincg* diaconus ib. 625, *Godingc* diaconus ib. 627 (980), *Goding* diaconus ib. 630, 631 (981), *Godinc* diaconus ib. 634 (982), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 637 (983), 646 (984), 649, 651 (985), 660, 661 (987), 666, 667, *Goding* diaconus ib. 668 (988), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 669, 670, 671 (989), 674, 675 (990), 676, *Godinc* diaconus ib. 677 (991), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 679 (972–92), 680, 681, *Godinc* diaconus ib. 682 (after 972), *Godingc* preost ib. 683 (978–92), *Godingc* diaconus ib. 695 (995); *Godinc* mon. Grueber pp. 232 (Aethelr. II),

245 (Cnut), *Godinc* (or *Godine*) ib. 303 (Harold I); cf. also *Godic*, *Goine* ib. 245 (Cnut); *Goding* mon. Hildebrand p. 90, *Godinc* ib. 132 (Aethelr. II), *Godinc* ib. 271, 479 (Cnut); cf. *Godic* ib. 231 (Cnut), *Goddic* ib. 344 (Harold I; = *Godric* ib.?), *Goine* ib. 273 (Cnut), *Godinc* mon. Holm 311, 312 (Aethelr. II); *Goding* LVH (c. 975; three instances in Searle); *Goding* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 31, 121, *Godingus* ib. pp. 121, 327, *Godinc* ib. p. 121, *Godincus* ib. p. 327.

See *God*. — HOLM p. 41.

**Hwiting** BCS 426 (839). Is *Witing* ib. 380 (834?) the same man?

See *Hwita*.

**Leofing, Lifing, Lufing** etc. This abundantly recorded name presents a great variety of spellings, the identity of which may, it is true, sometimes be doubted. For practical reasons I have here arranged the names — without titles etc., cf. SEARLE p. 328 f. — according to the sources, and after each source the different spellings have been given in the order they are first met with. Especially in the case of KCD such an arrangement may be of some interest; for BCS it has already been worked out in Index Saxonicus. GRUEBER registers fifteen spellings, quoted chronologically below, but in addition there are found on coins a great number of more or less corrupt forms, which the editor dismisses simply with an "etc.", and when one considers the hopeless confusion that prevails, this seems, indeed, excusable; cf., e. g., GRUEBER pp. 332, 401. — LV : *Lefincg* 235, (*Lefilla* 197, for *Lefing*? MÜLLER p. 75). — BCS : *Livingus* 461 (851), *Leofincg* 638 (914), *Lyuingc* 895 (952), *Leofing* 980 (956), *Lyfing* 994 (957), *Liofing* 1010 (958), *Lefincg*, *Leofincg* 1046 (959), *Lefing*, *Leuing* 1047 (959), *Leuincg* 1055 (960), *Lifing* 1212 (968). — KCD : *Lifing* 429 (c. 949), 672 (990), 714 (1005), 765 (1042), 792 (1050), 956 (1052), 912 (c. 1055); *Liuingc* 643 (984); *Lifinc* 684 (993), 1303 (1007), 801 (1055); *Lyfinge* 703 (999), 1315 (c. 1020); *Lyfing* 1294 (1000), 1301 (1005), 1306 (1009), 1309 (1014), 731, 732 (c. 1018), 741, 743 (1024), 746 (1032), 1318 (1033), 760 (1038), 764, 765, 1332 (1042), 767 (1043), 770 (1044), 847 (c. 1050); *Liuing* 1295 (1002); *Lyfincg* 1296 (1002), 768 (c. 1040), 772 (1044); *Lyuing* 710 (1004); *Luingus* 711 (1004); *Liuingus* 715 (1006), 1304 (1007), 727, 728 (1018), 771 (1044), 795, 911, 913, 914 (c. 1050); *Lyuinc* 1305 (1008); *Leuing* 719 (1012), 730 (1019); *Lyfingus* 1307 (1012), 760 (1038), 763 (1042), 774, 775 (1044), 780,



781 (1045); *Liuing* 1308 (1013); *Leofing* 1310 (1015); *Lifingus* 723 (1016); *Lyuing* 729 (1019); *Lufinc* 743 (1024); *Lyfinc* 743 (1024), 744 (1031); *Leouingus* 752 (1033); *Luingus* 761 (c. 1038); *Lufing* 762 (1042); *Lyfincigus* 769 (c. 1044); *Lufingus* 779 (1045). — Crawf. chart. : *Lyuing* 11 (1007); *Lifing* 4 (1018). — Exeter chart. : *Lyfinc* 11 (1031); *Lifingus*, *Liuingeus* 12 (1044). — Chron. : *Lifing* 1013 E, 1019 D; *Liuing* 1020 E<sup>1</sup>, 1038 E, 1044 E; *Lyuyne* 1045 C; *Lyfing* 1047 D. — Keary : *Liabing* 76 (Canterbury, Ceolnoth); cf. *Leofic* 237. — Grueber : *Liabineg*, *Lifing*, *Liouing*, *Liafinc*, *Lifinc*, *Leuinc*, *Lefinc*, *Leofinc*, *Lyfinc*, *Lefing*, *Lufinc*, *Lyfinc*, *Leofing*, *Liöfinc*, *Luffinc* "etc." (Aethelberht, Aethelr. I, Aelfred, Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, Aethelr. II, Cnut, Harold I, Harthacnut, Eadw. Conf., Harold II); cf. *Lifc* 277 (Cnut), 360, 372 (Eadw. Conf.), 473 (Harold II). — Hildebrand : *Lyfingc* (Eadgar); *Lyfinc*, *Lifinc*, *Lufinc*, *Lifing*, *Lefinc*, *Lefing*, *Leofinc*, *Living*, *Liwing*, *Luing*, *Livinc*, *Lifnc* (Aethelr. II); *Lifinc*, *Lifncc*, *Liifinc*, *Lyfinc*, *Leofinc*, *Lifnc*, *Leowine*; cf. *Leofic* 243, *Lifc* 244 (Cnut); *Lifinc*, *Liffinc*, *Lifn*, *Lifncc*, *Llifinc*, *Lifnic*, *Lifncc*, *Liifinc* (Harold I); *Lifinc* (Harthacnut); *Lifinc*, *Lifnc*, *Lifncc*, *Lifncc*, *Luffinc*; cf. *Leofic* 447 (Eadw. Conf.); *Lyfinc* (Sihtrie). — Holm : *Lifinc*, *Lyfinc* (Aethelr. II), *Lifinc* (Cnut), *Lifug* (Eadw. Conf.). — Ellis, Intr. : *Leving* I p. 444, *Leuinc*, *Leuincus*, *Leuing*, *Leuingus* II pp. 161, 348, *Liuing* II p. 181; DB IV : *Leuingus*, *Liuiuncus*, *Lowincus*, *Lufincus* 609 (Exon.), *Leouingus*, *Leowingus*, *Leuingus*, *Leuingius*, *Lewingus*, *Luingus* 626 (Winton).

See *Leof*. — MÜLLER p. 75, HOLM p. 51 f.

**Man(n)ing** etc. : *Maninc* mon. Grueber pp. 13, 18, *Manninc* ib. 19 (Aethelwulf), *Maninc* ib. 25 (Aethelberht), *Manninc* ib. 30 (Aethelr. I), 56, 57 (Aelfred), 102 (Aethelstan), *Maning* ib. 183 (Eadgar), *Maning*, *Manning* ib. 231 (Aethelr. II), *Maninc* ib. 246 (Cnut); *Maninc* mon. Hildebrand p. 129, *Maning* ib. 129, 130, *Manninc* ib. 50, 130, *Manning* ib. 130 (Aethelr. II), *Maninc* ib. 214 (Cnut); *Manninc* mon. Holm 43 (Aethelr. II). Cf. *Mannic* mon. Grueber p. 191 (Eadw. II), Hildebrand p. 50 (Aethelr. II); *Manin* Holm 8 (Eadred); *Monning* (-ing in a rune) mon. Stephens I p. 305 (Mercia, Beornwulf).

<sup>1</sup> 'Lyuing qui et Aelstanus' ib. F. Lat. Cf. 'Livingus qui et Aethelstanus' Flor. Worc. 1005. See KEMBLE, Names p. 95, SEARLE BKN pp. 10, 92.

See *Man(n)*. — HOLM p. 53 f. Cf. *Menning* BJÖRKMAN, Namenk. p. 62.

**Ording**, *Ordinc*, *Ordin* Ellis, Intr. II p. 191.

See *Orda*.

**Snel(l)ing** etc. : *Sneling* mon. Grueber pp. 201 (Aethelr. II), 247 (Cnut), Hildebrand pp. 93 (Aethelr. II), 253 (Cnut); *Snelling* Tullinges sunu Thorpe p. 633 (11th cent.); *Snellinc* Ellis, Intr. II p. 218, *Snelling* DB IV p. 620 (Inq. Eliens.).

See *Snell*. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 126, Namenk. p. 78, Fester-men p. 17. — The instance from Thorpe shows that at that time *Snelling* was not used as a patronymic.

**Sweting** etc. : *Swetinc* mon. Grueber p. 228 (Aethelr. II), *Suetinc*, *Swetinc* ib. 247 (Cnut); *Swetinc* Hildebrand pp. 47, 121, 122, *Sweting* ib. 122 (Aethelr. II), *Suetinc* ib. 279, *Swetinc* ib. 279, 284 (Cnut); cf. *Swetig* (!) ib. 121 (Aethelr. II), *Swetic* ib. 279 (Cnut); *Swetinc* Holm 38, 279—282 (Aethelr. II), 555 (Cnut); *Suetingus* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 232, 391, *Sueting*, *Suetinus* ib. p. 391.

See *Swet*. In some cases possibly an error for Scand. *Swerting* etc. (BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 137). That an independent name *Sweting* actually existed, is, however, beyond doubt; cf., e. g., HILDEBRAND p. 122.

**Wilinc** mon. Grueber p. 247, Hildebrand p. 283 (Cnut).

See *Willa*.

## b. Explainable only as patronymics.

("Unintelligible.")

**Adding** LV 102.

See *Adda*. — MÜLLER p. 74.

**Bedling** Ellis, Intr. II p. 47.

See *Beda* (?). Brictmarus *bedel* Ellis, Intr. II p. 53 is probably (OE *bydel*) ME *bedel* 'beadle'.

**Doding**, *Dodingus*, *Dodinc* Ellis, Intr. II p. 74.

See *Doda*.

[**Donning**, *Donninc* Ellis, Intr. II p. 75 is derived from Celtic *Donnos* etc., recorded in DB; see HOLDER I 1306.]

**Dud(d)ing** etc. : *Duddinc* mon. Grueber p. 302 (Harold I), *Dudinc* ib. 382, 397, 407 (Eadw. Conf.); cf. *Dudinic* ib. 320 (Harthacnut); *Duddinc* mon. Hildebrand p. 360 (Harold I), *Dudinc*, *Dudince* ib. 445 (Eadw. Conf.); cf. *Dodnic* ib.; *Dudingc* mon.

Holm 646 (Eadw. Conf.); *Duding* 'hatte Wifuse sunu' KCD 1354 (11th cent.).

See *Dudd*. — HOLM p. 29.

**Eafing, Eobing** : *Eafing* BCS 274 (793—6); *Eobing* princeps ib. 265 (793), *Eobingus* dux ib. 280, *Eobing* dux ib. 281 (796; KCD 159, 172, 173 starred). — Does *Euing* Ellis, Intr. II p. 110 belong here?

See *Eafa*, *Eoba*.

[**Eat(t)ing** : '*Eadbriht* rex cognomento *Eating*' BCS 161 (741); *Eatting* Inscr. at Bingley, Yorksh. Archæol. Journ. II 254 (quoted from Searle).

*Eating* in BCS 161 is probably a forgery; the Kentish king *Eadbriht* has evidently got the 'cognomen' by confusion with his royal namesake in Northumbria, whose father was *Eata*. Cf. SEARLE BKN pp. 262, 307, Chron. 738. — I am not in a position to verify the instance *Eatting*.]

[**Gadinc** Ellis, Intr. II p. 321.

See *Gadd* (?). Possibly an error for *Godinc*, q. v.]

[**Gunninc** Ellis, Intr. II p. 137, see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 56.]

[**Haming, Hem(m)ing**. No certain native instances of these names are on record in England; see BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 67, Namenk. p. 46, Namen im Beowulf, s. v. 'Hemming', FORSSNER p. 140.]

**Huning, Huninc, Hunnic** (!) Ellis, Intr. II p. 151.

See *Hun*.

[**Ifinc(c)** mon. Grueber p. 332, Hildebrand p. 457, Holm 649 (Eadw. Conf.) is most likely not a patronymic of *Ifa*, q. v., but merely a bad spelling for *Lifinc*; see Hildebrand p. 457 f. Cf. *Iufinc* mon. Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 155 (Aethelr. II) = *Lufinc*. The same probably holds true of *Iuinc*, *Iuingus* DB IV p. 609 (Exon.). HOLM p. 45 erroneously connects *Ifinc* with *Yffe*, *Uffa*, *Offa*; for that group see above under *Oba*.]

[**Luhing** bishop BCS 732, in an obviously ME copy, is not to be connected with *Luha*, q. v., but, as SEARLE BKN p. 246 suggests, this man is probably identical with *Lyfing*, Bishop of Crediton 1027 — ... (cf. ib. p. 98). In that case the 'oþer Leon popa' mentioned just after *Luhing* cannot be the one coming after Leo VII., whom the charter otherwise refers to, but Leo IX. (1048—54).]

**Lul(l)ing** etc. : *Lulling* præfectus BCS 27 (before 672)<sup>1</sup>, *Lull-*

<sup>1</sup> SEARLE points out that the signatories are copied from a charter of c. 795. Cf. BCS 274.



*ing* ib. 197 (765), 208 (772), 274, 279 (796), *Lulling dux* ib. 293 (799)<sup>1</sup>, *Lullinge* presbyter ib. 312 (803), 426 (839), *Lulling* ib. 445, 447 (844), *Lulling* minister ib. 451 (847), 468, 475, 476, 481 (854), *Lulling* ib. 497 (859), 536 (873), *Luling* ib. 536 (873). *Dulling* minister BCS 470 (854) is an error for *Lulling*; thus in KCD 271.

See *Lull*. — Cf. *Lullig*.

**Ocing** Thorpe p. 636 (11th cent.).

See *Oc(c)a*.

**Teolling** Thorpe p. 633 (11th cent.).

See *Teol*.

**Tulling** : *Tullinges* (gen.) Thorpe p. 633 (11th cent.).

See *Tulla*.

**Umming** præfectus KCD 73 (725; starred).

A patronymic of \**Umma*<sup>2</sup>, which, according to F 1476, belongs to a secondary stem, derived from compounds such as *Unmar*, *Unmod*. It is not necessary to assume Celtic origin, as STARK does, p. 169, note 3.

**Yfingus** regis dapifer KCD 813 (1062)<sup>3</sup>.

See *Ufa*.

### β. Only full names recorded.

#### a. Ambiguous.

("Intelligible").

**Hearding** etc. : *Herding* LV 333; *Hardyngum* fabrum KCD 795 (1051), *Herdingus* reginae pincerna ib. 813 (1062), *Hardinc* Eadnoðes sunu ib. 897 (c. 1070); *Herding* LVH (11th cent.; quoted from Searle); *Hardinc*, *Harding*, *Hardingus* Ellis, Intr. I pp. 432, 488, II pp. 140, 335, *Herding* ib. I p. 434, II p. 336, *Hardinc*, *Hardincus*, *Hardingus* DB IV p. 608 (Exon.). *Heording* Thorpe p. 634 (11th cent.) is probably the same name. Cf. also *Erding* Ellis, Intr. II p. 107.

From compounds with *H(e)ard-*, OE *h(e)ard* 'hard'. MÜLLER pp. 74, 124, F 752, BINZ p. 201. For the interchange *H(e)arding* ~ *Herding* see FORSSNER pp. 70, note, 268.

<sup>1</sup> *Lullyng* KCD 1020.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the place-name *Umman ig* BCS 1114.

<sup>3</sup> The same instance as HOLM p. 45 (*Yvingus* misprint) quotes from Thorpe p. 397. *Yffing* Chron. 560 BC is a patronymic of *Yffi*.

**Hering** Chron. 603 E.

Probably from compounds with *Here-*, OE *here* 'troop, army'<sup>1</sup>. Identity with Angl. *hēring*, WSax. *hāring* 'herring' seems less probable. — The instance *Hæring* Stephens I p. 305, adduced by Searle, is irrelevant.

**Modinc**, *Modingus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 186.

From compounds with *Mōd-*, more frequently *-mōd*, OE *mōd* 'heart, mind, courage'. MÜLLER p. 127, F 1126.

**Mundingus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 187.

From compounds with (*Mund-*) *-mund*, OE *mund* 'hand, security, protection, protector'<sup>2</sup>. MÜLLER p. 127, F 1133, SCHÖNFELD pp. 22, 169, BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 96.

**Wlencing**, son of Aelle<sup>3</sup>, Chron. 477.

From OE *wlanc* 'stately, proud', or names compounded with that element. Cf. STEVENSON, Engl. Hist. Rev. XIV p. 33.

## b. Explainable only as a patronymic.

("Unintelligible".)

**Wunning** presbyter, *Wunning* messepreost KCD 981 (11th cent.).

From compounds with *Wun-*, by the side of those with *Wyn-* (see *Wynna*)? It is difficult to ascertain to what extent a real *u*-pronunciation is represented by the few *Wun*-forms recorded: *Wunbeald* BCS 404 (c. 832), *Wunstan* ib. 1242 (969), *Wuncild* ib. 1253 (c. 970).

## 2. Not original patronymics.

a. Intelligible.<sup>4</sup>

**Branting** etc. : *Brantine* mon. Grueber pp. 191 (Eadweard II), 198 (Aethelr. II), *Bræntine* or *Brantinc* ib. 244 (Cnut), *Brantinc* mon. Hildebrand pp. 20 (Eadweard II), 62, 128, 144, *Branting*

<sup>1</sup> The short form *Hereca* is certainly recorded, but *Hering* cannot be derived from that. *Her* Ellis, Intr. II p. 142 I take to be only a curtailed form and not a regular short name.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the place-name *Mundam ham* BCS 50.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SEARLE BKN p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Those names in *-(l)ing* which coincide formally with the corresponding appellatives are given among the "Strong Names": *Dirling*, *Horling*, *Scilling*, *Starling*.

ib. 128, 144 (Aethelr. II), *Brantinc* ib. 247, *Bræntinc* ib. 299 (Cnut); *Branting*, *Brantingus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 52. Cf. *Brenting* BCS 1130 (972—92), probably the same as OWScand. *Brettingr* (LIND).

: OE *brant* 'deep, steep, high'. Cf. Scand. *Brattr*, *Bratt*, also used as a byname (JÓNSSON p. 231).

**Cupping** BCS 980 (1053)<sup>1</sup>.

: OE *cuppe* 'cup'? Cf. OG *Cuppa* F 383.

**Roting** Thorpe p. 635 (11th cent.).

: OE *rōt* 'glad, cheerful'. Also used as a byname: *Aeþelstan rota* BCS 917 (955).

[**Snarino** DB IV p. 620 (Inq. Eliens.).

: OE *sneare* 'snare', *snyrian* 'to hasten, hurry'; see TORP, Wortschatz p. 521, BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loan-words p. 254. Since this is, however, not otherwise known as a native name-element, *Snarinc* is probably of foreign origin; cf. OG *Snaring* F 1350, OWScand. *Snari*, (*Sneringr*) LIND (also as a byname JÓNSSON p. 351, KAHLE p. 185), OSwed. *Snare*, *Snærer* LUNDGREN. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 126, Namenk. p. 77.]

## b. Unintelligible.

**Arlingus** Ellis, Intr. II pp. 41, 290.

[**Brihinc** mon. Grueber p. 330 (Eadw. Conf.).

Corrupt form of \**Brihtinc*, from *Briht*, q. v.?)

**Cheping** Ellis, Intr. I p. 396, II pp. 67, 302, *Chepingus* ib. II pp. 67, 302, *Chiping* ib. II p. 68, *Cheping*, *Chepingus*, *Chepingius* DB IV p. 623 (Wint.).

: OE *cēpan* 'to keep'? Since *ch(e)-* in DB stands for *k(e)-* (ZACHRISSON, Anglo-Norm. Infl. p. 34), and all the instances above are drawn from Wessex, the name can scarcely be connected with OE *ēiepan* 'to traffic, buy, sell, barter', North. *ēeping* (BÜLBRING § 292) etc. Cf., however, GEVENICH p. 89.

**Dranting** mon. Grueber p. 198 (Aethelr. II).

An error for *Branting*, or derived from Celtic (?) *Drantius* HOLDER I 1314? NE dial. *drant* 'to drawl or drone in speech' is hardly to be taken into consideration, since it is an onomatopoeic formation of comparatively late origin; see NED and EDD.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Cyppingc* LVH p. 29, *Kypingus* ib. p. 73 (11th cent.; quoted from Searle p. 546).



[**Driuning** mon. Grueber p. 156 (Eadwig).

Corrupt.]

[**Kysinge** (nom.) 'spiritalis ovilis opilio' BCS 1282 (972) might certainly be derived from Celtic *Cusa* HOLDER I 1206, but the true reading is no doubt *Kynsige*, as in KCD 670 (starred).]

**Luning** mon. Keary p. 73 (Canterbury, Wulfred), Grueber p. 33 (Aelfred). Does *Lunen* Ellis, Intr. II p. 350 belong here?

From a stem *lun-* of debated etymology, found in a few names; cf F 1064, BRUCKNER p. 281, CARSTENS, Brem. Familien-namen p. 27.

**Lunling** : *Lunlinges* subreguli BCS 258 (before 790).

Formed by adding the double suffix *-ling* to the same stem as in the preceding name.

**Lutting** LV 171; *Lutting* Lib. Eliens. I 6 (7th cent.; quoted from Searle).

Probably from the stem *lūt-* in OE *lytel* 'little', for which see TORP, Wortschatz p. 374, and NED s. v. This etymology, suggested by MÜLLER p. 75, is in my opinion more plausible than WYLD's explanation of the name (E. St. XXXII p. 400) from *\*lutta* < *\*luðná-*, cognate with OE *lēod*, *lēoda* etc. Cf. also HAHN, Neues Archiv XII p. 127.

## Appendix.

Uncompounded personal names, occurring in *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, and the minor epic fragments.<sup>1</sup>

- I. *Deor\**, *Eofor*, *Finn\**, *Geat\**, *Helm*, *Hengest\**, *Heoden*, *Hnæf*, *Hoc\**, *Holen*, *Hun\**, *Scilling\**, *Scyld\**, *Þyle*, *Wæls*, *Wald\**, *Wod\**, *Wulf\**; — *Hild\**, *Hygd*, *Dryð*.
- II. *Becca\**, *Breca\**, *Eawa\**, *Elsa\**, *Froda\**, *Hagena\**, *Halga*, *Hama\**, *Heorrenda*, *Hwala\**, *Meaca*, *Offa\**, *Onela*, *Sceafa\**, *Secca*, *Wada\**, *Widia\**, *Wudga\**, *Witta\**.
- III. *Hlīfe*.
- IV. *Aetla\**, *Fitela\**, *Fridla*, *Hredel*, *Hreðla*, *Seafola*; *Beadeca\**, *Cælic\**, *Emerca*, *Gifca*, *Heðca*, *Sifeca*.
- V. *Billing\**, *Hemming\**, *Swerting\**.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preface. — The starred names are discussed above.

## Summary.

A brief survey will here be given of the uncompounded names in OE with regard to their origin, signification (intelligibility), and frequency, in addition to which some other questions connected with these problems are touched upon.

It must be expressly stated, however, that the results set forth here are only of a preliminary nature, as no attention has been paid to the personal names occurring in place-names. Still the number of independent names is very considerable, and therefore one might no doubt assume that even if the remaining names were included, the proportion between the various categories of names would not be altered to any great extent, though a similar extension of the material would naturally afford a more correct picture of the name stock as a whole. From all points of view it is urgently needed as a necessary complement to the present work.

When dealing with the separate names it has often been shown how difficult it is to decide whether we are concerned with one or two names. To produce absolutely exact figures will therefore scarcely be possible, and when, in spite of this, some statistics are given below, I want to emphasize their approximate character.

The following principles have been followed in the computation: 1. All names discussed in square brackets are excluded (cf. Preface). 2. Forms which are to be looked upon as variants with regard to dialect or time are taken as one name, e. g. *Ealda* ~ *Alda*, *Deora* ~ *Diara*, *Eafing* ~ *Eobing*. 3. Pairs such as *Eada* ~ *Eadda*, *Aeti* ~ *Aetti* are also regarded as one name.

### I.

1. As appears from the table the total number of (independent) uncompounded personal names in OE amounts to 736. Further it is to be observed that 79 of these occur both with a single



|                          | Masculine            |    |                    |     | Feminine |   |    |    |     |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----|--------------------|-----|----------|---|----|----|-----|
|                          | A                    |    | B                  |     | A        |   | B  |    |     |
|                          | a                    | b  | a                  | b   | a        | b | a  | b  |     |
| I. Strong names.. ...    | 42                   | 6  | 35                 | 53  | 8        | 2 | 4  | 2  | 152 |
| II. Weak names.....      | 72                   | 44 | 52                 | 128 | 11       | 6 | 4  | 13 | 330 |
| III. Names in -i (-e)... | 34                   | 21 | 9                  | 41  | —        | — | —  | —  | 105 |
| IV. Diminutive names     | 33                   | 21 | 10                 | 41  | 1        | — | —  | 1  | 107 |
| V. Names in -ing.. ...   | 181                  | 92 | 106                | 263 | 20       | 8 | 8  | 16 | 694 |
|                          | 273                  |    | 369                |     | 28       |   | 24 |    | 42  |
|                          | Orig. patro-<br>nym. |    | Not orig.<br>patr. |     |          |   |    |    |     |
|                          | a                    | b  | a                  | b   |          |   |    |    |     |
|                          | 20                   | 13 | 3                  | 6   |          |   |    |    |     |
|                          | 33                   |    | 9                  |     |          |   |    |    |     |
|                          | 684                  |    |                    |     | 52       |   |    |    | 736 |

and a double medial consonant; some of these parallel forms probably represent different names<sup>1</sup>.

2. Of the 694 names in I—IV 301 may be assumed to have originated as short forms of compound names recorded in OE, whereas the corresponding compounds are lacking in 393 names. Even though, for various reasons, the latter figure may be too high, it proves beyond doubt that all uncompounded names in OE can by no means be explained as shortened forms of compound names. Moreover, it is probable that certain of the names given under *A* are, in reality, not short forms, though they may admit of a similar interpretation.

Those cases in which a full name and a name shortened from this compound are recorded as denoting the same person, are, as has already been mentioned, remarkably few in OE: geneal.: *Brand* = *Ingibrand*?; 6th cent.: *Uda* = *Udwine*, -wulf, *Ceol*, *Ceola* = *Ceolric*; 7th cent.: *Sæba* = *Sæberht*, *Ossa* = *Oswin* (in a Celtic document), *Berct* = *Berctred*(?); 8th cent.: *Sicga* = *Sigefrið*, -helm,

<sup>1</sup> In addition 239 names, placed within brackets, are discussed. — It may also be mentioned that of the 254 names in classes III—V, 176 have the corresponding "primary names" recorded.

*Osa* = *Oswaldus*(?); *Buggae* = *Eadburg*, *Heaburg*, *Lioba* = *Liobgyth*; 9th cent. : *Eda* = *Edwine*; 10th cent. : *Aelle* = *Aelfwine*, *Godra* = *Godric*(?); 11th cent. : *Gode* = *Godgifu*, *Wulfa* = *Wulf-beorn*(?); cf. also *Nun*, *Nunna* = *Nodhelm*, *Tuma* = *Trumwine* (7th cent.); *Aeti* = *Eadsige* (11th cent.). The last three instances are evidently not on a par with the preceding ones, and of those only 9 are comparatively certain, thus not more than 3 % of all A-names.

In most of those uncompounded names which are not short forms we probably have original bynames of various kinds. Just as in the case of original short forms (cf. Introduction), we are undoubtedly concerned here with bynames originating at very different periods.

As is well known, the occurrence of nicknames in OE has recently been the subject of a lively discussion, and therefore it will scarcely be necessary here to enter upon this question in detail<sup>1</sup>. It seems at any rate to be clear that in historical OE times the use of nicknames was by no means so frequent as, for instance, among the Scandinavians<sup>2</sup>; in any case they were not employed officially to the same extent. The increase seen towards the end of the OE period is presumably to be ascribed to Scandinavian and Norman influence.

A real name and a byname in independent use, denoting the same person, are recorded in the following cases : 7th cent. : *Aedilberga-Tatae*; 8th cent. : *Alduini-Wor(r)*, *Aedelwold-Moll*, *Aedelberht-Coen(a)*, *Eadbryht-Præn*, *Hildegils-Brorda*; 11th cent. : *Aethelstan-Livingus*, *Ednod-Wine*, *Aedelmer-Dodda*, *Elewine-Snel*; cf. also *Oric-Oisc* (5th cent.), *Aelfthryth-Aebbe* (8th cent.), and the doubtful *Aethilred-Mucil* (9th cent.).

Sometimes we find an uncompounded name used as a byname,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Pers. p. 185 ff., Namenk. p. 1 ff., Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 207 ff., 225 ff., 375 f.; WYLD, M. L. R. V p. 290; ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkv. VI p. 291 ff., Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 369 ff.; cf. also MAWER, M. L. R. XIV p. 233 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The term nickname has been taken in a somewhat different sense by different authors; here I refer only to names of the type *Aedelwold Moll*, *Wulfwerd (h)wita*, *Godwig se Bucca*, or those bynames used as independent names. Cf. KEMBLE, Names p. 102, BARDSLEY, Engl. Surnames pp. 5, 424, ZACHRISSON, Stud. i mod. språkv. VI p. 291 ff., STARK p. 150 ff., WREDE, Ostg. p. 198, SOCIN p. 457 ff., WEEKLEY, Romance of names p. 189 ff., Surnames p. 124 ff.

referring to another person : *Bubba* geneal. (recorded as a byname in DB), *Pinca* AD 605 (11th cent.), *Puttuc* c. 725 (1023), *Hwita* 743—DB (Bede—11th cent.), *Budda* 761—11th cent. (*Budde* 1025), *Blaca* LV (Bede—DB), *Leofa* 825—11th cent. (958), *Bucca* 882 (1055), *Dirling* 950—11th cent. (1016), *Gode* f. 995—DB (11th cent.), *Bolla* c. 1025—DB (DB), *Dode* c. 1041—DB (DB), *Hærra* c. 1038 (DB, perhaps not a byname), *Pic* 11th cent. (DB), *Blac* DB (DB), *Lang* DB (1070, DB), *Welp* DB (DB), *Biga* DB (*Bicga* c. 1045), *Coppa* DB (DB); cf. also *Soca* 959 (*Socca* DB), *Caua* LV, DB (*Chaua* DB)<sup>1</sup>. It may be noticed that only in three cases [*Hwita*, *Blaca*, *Bi(c)ga*] is the byname recorded earlier than the independent name, and that of all these bynames only three (*Hwita*, *Blaca*, *Leofa*) are found before the 11th cent.; the majority occur in DB. Further we have to remember that of the names in both the above categories 12 may, from a formal point of view, be explained also as short forms of compound names, 2 as derivatives (*Mucil*, *Puttuc*), and 1 as an original patronymic (*Livingus*). The remaining names are : *Wor(r)*, *Moll*, *Præn*, *Oisc*, *Aebbe*(?); *Pinca*, *Budda*, *Bucca*, *Dirling*, *Bolla*, *Hærra*(?), *Pic*, *Welp*, *Biga*, *Coppa*, *Soca*(?), *Caua*(?).

From these few instances it is, of course, not permissible to draw the conclusion that bynames were actually rare in OE. Many uncompounded names, both in *A* and *B*, present unmistakably the character of bynames, though they happen to be recorded only as independent names<sup>2</sup>. For examples see below.

3. Of all the 736 names 338 are here classified as intelligible, and 398 as unintelligible. Hence it appears that the Anglo-Saxons had advanced about half-way towards the present-day indifference to the signification of (uncompounded) names.

It may be of some interest to investigate the intelligible names somewhat more closely. First we shall see how they are grouped in the separate sections I—V, and then give a survey of all the intelligible names. The names are here regarded in their direct relation to the stem word.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., moreover, the names given by HILDEBRAND p. VII f., each of which GRUEBER takes to represent two moneyers.

<sup>2</sup> It may also be mentioned that the number of bynames recorded before c. 1050, except those quoted above, is rather small.



## I. Strong names.

## 1. Masculine.

*A* and *B*. The intelligible names entirely coincide with the corresponding strong substantives or adjectives, except *Coen* (: *cāne*). The distribution is seen from the name lists.

## 2. Feminine.

*A* and *B*. These coincide in the same way as the masc. names, except *Eadu* (: *ēad*), *Dingu* (: *þing*).

## II. Weak names.

## 1. Masculine.

*A*. 1. Subst. *α*. Weak : *Beta*, *Bota*, *Deda*, *Egisa*, *Wealda*, *Willa*; — *Wit(t)a*; *Plecca*.

β. Strong : *Aelua*, *Aesca*, *Beorna*, *Brorda*, *Burga*, *Ecga*, *Gelda*, *Golda*, *Guða*, *Lafa*, *Lioda*, *Mecga*, *Orda*, *Seaxa*, *Secgga*, *Teoda*, *Tida*, *Wintra*, *Wulfa*, *Wynna*; *Dena*, *Kaenta*; — *Bot(f)a*, *Ceol(l)a*, *Cyn(n)a*, *Ead(d)a*, *Man(n)a*, *Os(s)a*, *Tun(n)a*, *Wi(c)ga*; *Wegga*; — *Hroda*, *Lufa*, *Wina*; *Bad(d)a*, *Si(c)ga*, *Wud(d)a*, *Hyssa*.

2. Adj. : *Blaca*, *Bruna*, *Coena*, *Cuða*, *Deora*, *Dunna*, *Ealda*, *Froda*, *Froma*, *Hueta*, *Hwita*, *Scira*, *Sweta*, *Suitha*, *Swota*, *Tila*, *Wana*; *Godra*, *Hacha*; *Tata*; — *God(d)a*, *Leof(f)a*; *Blaecca*, *Wehha*.

3. Verb : *Spila*.

4. Adv. : *Forða*<sup>1</sup>.

*B*. 1. Subst. *α*. Weak : *Broga*, *Cnapa*, *Fronca*, *Gota*, *Hærra*, *Hana*, *Hunta*, *Pohha*, *Pusa*, *Ridda*, *Steorra*; *Syla*, *Uaeba*; — *Buc(c)a*, *Bud(d)a*, *Su(c)ga*; *Hac(c)a*, *Stric(c)a*.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the names given as unintelligible, it may be stated that in not a few cases, where the consonantal gemination is obviously the result of an assimilation, as in, e. g., *Aeffa*, *Beonna*, *Hidda*, it is probable that these could without difficulty be connected with the name-elements in question (*Aelf*-, *Beorn*-, *Hild*-). In this sense they were thus intelligible as well, though we can here scarcely talk of ambiguity. Gemination, of whatever origin, is clear evidence that the short form was chiefly looked upon as hypocoristic and that only in the second place — if at all — it was associated with the stem word. Cf. *Plecca*.

- β. Strong : *Borda, Coppa, Demma, Hæleþa, Horsa, Octa, Sceua; Belga, Sola; Esa; — Hus(s)a, Sib(b)a; Hocca, Twiega; — Wraca.*
2. Adj. : *Brada, Cyma, Dealla, Dola, Nytta, Smala, Snella, Steapa, Swesa; Biga, Trewa; Hoga.*
3. Verbs : *Buga, Hemma, Plucca, Sweða, Tella, Wad(d)a, Wecca.*

## 2. Feminine.

- A. 1. Subst. : *Beage, Bote, Golde.*
2. Adj. : *Dunne, Ealde, Gode, Hwite, Leofe, Milda, Suitha; Tate.*
- B. Subst. : *Crawe, Culfre, Duuua, Nunnæ.*

## III. Names in -i (-e).

- A. 1. Subst. : *Aelfe, Berne, Cyne, Ecgi, Freði, Golde, Hilde, Lufe, Ledi, Orde, Saxi, Secgge, Tidi, Wege, Wige; Mere; — Tunne; Bode, Gife.*
2. Adj. : *Aldi, Blache, Brune, Dunne, Frome, Godi, Hwite, Lange, Leofe, Swote; Bryni, Dynne; — Til(l)i.*
3. Verb : *Spille.*
4. Part. : *Ini.*
- B. 1. Subst. : *Sib(b)i, Esi, Pipe, Snode, Suince.*
2. Adj. : *Wode.*
3. Verbs : *Buge, Hemmi, Wade.*

## IV. Diminutive names.

- A. 1. Subst. : *Burgel, Mannel, Rædel, Witol, Blaedla, Mægla, Winele; Deduc, Uilloc, Winuc, Hereca, Hysica, Dremca, Aluca, Baduca, Maneca; Cynia, Wudia, Wilne, Mon(n)ede.*
2. Adj. : *Berhtel, Brunel, Tatel, Rricula; Dun(n)ic, Leofic, Hwituc, Uiduc, Taetica, Brynea, Leofeca; Brynia, Tilne.*
- B. 1. Subst. : *Huntael, Swencel, Esla; Honoc, Hysca; Lifna.*
2. Adj. : *Wod(d)el.*
3. Verbs : *Wædel, Hemele; Telia.*

## V. Names in -ing.

- Orig. patronym. 1. Subst. : *Beoring, Billing, Man(n)ing, Ording, Wiling; Hering, Moding, Munding.*

2. Adj. : *Bruning, Chening, Dealing, Deoring, Dunning, Goding, Hwiting, Leofing, Snel(l)ing, Sweting; Hearing, Wlencing.*

*Not orig. patr.* 1. Subst. : *Cupping.*

2. Adj. : *Branting, Roting.*

If the intelligible names are classified with regard to the nature of the stem word, we find many categories represented. The distribution here made is quite a rough one; certain names may equally well belong to two groups, e. g. *Aesc, Lind, Secgga*. Many names are doubtful<sup>1</sup>.

#### a. Substantives.

##### 1. Nationality.

*A* : *D(a)ene +, Kaenta.*

*B* : *Scot, Gota.*

##### 2. Personal descriptions.

*A* : *Beorn +, Ceorl, Cild, Degn, Hys(s)e +; Lioda +, Mæg +, Man(n) +, Mecga, Secgga +, Teoda, Wealh +, Wine +; Beta, Boda +, Deda +, Wealda, Wit(t)a +; Quen.*

*B* : *Abbud, Cnapa, Cniht, Dirling, Esne, Hælepa, Hærra, Hiordi, Horling, Hunta +, Preost, Ridda, Sutere, Sylā, Uæba; — Nunnae, Swuster.*

##### 3. Battle, arms, etc.

*A* : *Badu +, Guða, Hild +, Wig +; Plecga; Si(c)ge, Hereca; Bil +, Ecga +, Orda +, Seaxa +, Pic +, Brorda; Ceol +.*

*B* : *Borda, Fronca.*

##### 4. Nature.

###### a. Animals.

*A* : *Wulf; Eaern, Fugul, Hauoc.*

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to quote here all the separate derivatives belonging to the same stem, but only the primary name. In order to indicate that one or several derivatives occur, a plus sign is put after the name in question. Thus, for instance, *Man(n) +* stands for *Man(n)a, Mannel, Manac, Maneca, Mon(n)ede, Manning* as well.



*B* : *Bucca*, *Hengist*, *Horsa*, *Mu(u)l*, *Mus*, *Oter*, *Uuedr*, *Welp*;  
*Brid(d)*, *Hana* +, *Meaw*, *Starling*, *Sucga*; *Crawe*, *Culfre*,  
*Duuua*; *Fisc*, *Smelt*; *Budda*; — *Horn*.

β. Plants etc.

*A* : *Aesc* +, *Lind*; *Wud(d)a* +.

*B* : *Holt*, *Sceua*, *Twicga*.

γ. Others.

*A* : *Landac*, *Mere* +.

*B* : *Coppa*, *Sol* +, *Steorra*.

5. Mythology.

*A* : *Os(s)a* +; *Aelf* +.

6. Buildings.

*A* : *Burga* +; *Tun* +.

*B* : *Hus(s)a* +.

7. Other concrete words.

*A* : *Aluca*, *Beage*, *Brand*, *Golda* +, *Lafa* +, *Wegga* +; *Munding*.

*B* : *Hac(e)a*, *Hoc* +, *Pipe*, *Pohha*, *Pusa*, *Snode*, *Stric* +; *Belga*;  
*Scilling*, *Beoring*, *Cupping*.

8. Other abstract words.

*A* : *Blaedla*, *Bot(t)a* +, *Cyn(n)a* +, *Dremca*, *Eadu* +, *Egisa*, *Frið* +,  
*Gelda*, *Gife*, *Hroda*, *Lufu* +, *Rædel*, *Tida* +, *Þingu*, *Willa* +,  
*Wintra*, *Wynna*; *Moding*.

*B* : *Broga*, *Demma*, *Lifna*, *Octa*, *Sib(b)a*, *Swenc* +, *Wraca*.

b. Adjectives.

1. Physical qualities.

*A* : *Berht* +, *Blac* +, *Bl(a)ecca*, *Brun* +, *Dun(n)* +, *Haeha*, *Hwita* +,  
*Lang* +, *Scira*, *Suitha* +, *Wid* +.

*B* : *Biga*, *Brada*, *Smala*, *Steapa*, *Swift*; *Branting*.

2. Other qualities.

*A* : *Aedel* +, *Breme*, *Coen* +, *Cuða*, *Diar* +, *Diori*, *Ealda* +,  
*Fram* +, *Frod* +, *God* +, *Healf*, *Hwatu* +, *Leof* +, *Milda*,  
*Ricula*, *Swet* +, *Swot* +, *Tata* +, *Tila* +, *Wacer*, *Wana*,  
*Wehha*; *Hearding*, *Wlencing*.

*B* : *Cyma*, *Dealla* +, *Dolu* +, *Eadugu*, *Gladu*, *Hean*, *Hoga*, *Nytta*,  
*Prud*, *Snell* +, *Snoter*, *Swesa*, *Trewa*, *Wode* +; *Roting*.

| Group        | Name    | Before<br>700 | 8th cent. |   |   | 9th cent. |   |   | 10th cent. |   |   | 11th cent. |   |
|--------------|---------|---------------|-----------|---|---|-----------|---|---|------------|---|---|------------|---|
| II. 1. A. b. | Aeffa   |               |           |   |   |           |   | — |            |   | — | —          | — |
|              | Ael(l)a | —             |           |   |   |           | — | — |            | — |   |            |   |
|              | Al(l)a  | —             |           |   |   |           |   |   | —          |   |   |            | — |
|              | An(n)a  | —             |           |   |   |           | — |   |            | — |   | —          | — |
|              | B(a)eda | —             | —         |   |   |           | — |   |            |   |   | —          |   |
|              | Beonna  | —             | —         | — | — | —         | — |   |            |   |   |            |   |

Names from before 700 are brought together in one column; fictitious names are, however, excluded as formerly. 700—1066 is divided into periods of 25 years each, with the exception that the last period is from 1025—66 (+ DB). In those columns the names are marked in. Here I do not take into account how many times each name is found during one and the same period, but only whether it is recorded or not. If the dashes in each column are added up, we obtain exact information as to how many uncompounded names are recorded during each period.

3. In the five principal sections the names are distributed in this way:

|      |     |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|------|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| I:   | 23  | 6  | 9  | 14 | 16 | 32  | 10 | 9  | 9  | 7  | 8  | 11 | 22 | 19 | 60  |
| II:  | 98  | 43 | 32 | 49 | 36 | 114 | 26 | 30 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 31 | 23 | 28 | 83  |
| III: | 25  | 7  | 2  | 7  | 4  | 27  | 2  | 4  | 2  | 1  | 7  | 6  | 7  | 1  | 50  |
| IV:  | 16  | 6  | 4  | 3  | 5  | 29  | 8  | 9  | 3  | 2  | 10 | 4  | 10 | 8  | 19  |
| V:   | 3   | 1  | —  | 1  | 3  | 10  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 1  | 2  | 4  | 8  | 9  | 26  |
| I—V: | 165 | 63 | 47 | 74 | 64 | 212 | 50 | 57 | 44 | 36 | 52 | 56 | 70 | 65 | 238 |

To begin with the totals, they are with few exceptions comparatively similar. The first figure is explained by the length of the period it refers to. The surprisingly high number recorded between 800—825 is due to the fact that the names in LV are placed here, though in reality they were distributed over the previous periods as well; thus it is connected with the special nature of this unique source, and cannot be taken into account in a comparison with other periods of 25 years. From LV we get, however, an idea of the real frequency of the names, though only a relatively small number are preserved. To a certain extent the same holds good of the last figure, which comprises, among others, the names in DB. Here, too, we are concerned with a longer period, but even if we take this into consideration, 238 is rather out of proportion. Of the remaining periods, 900—925 exhibits the smallest number.

In the separate sections the relation between the periods is on the whole the same as in the case of the totals: a higher figure for the time before 700, for 800—825, and for the last period. But some details deserve special mention. — A comparison especially between the figures of the first and the last period in the strong names shows that we have here an increase in the frequency; it is perceptible from c. 975. — In the weak names, on the contrary, we find a decrease. — The last figure, 50, in the



*i-* (*e-*)names is of particular interest. When compared with the single instance from the preceding period, it seems quite overwhelming, and this is, in fact, an evident proof of what has already been assumed in the introduction to this group (p. 118 ff.) : a great portion of the forms here given as native names, mostly taken from DB, are not genuine, but are either feminine, foreign, or corrupt. — Finally, the increased frequency of *ing*-names during the 11th cent. must be due to the fact that *-ing* was less and less clearly understood as a patronymic ending, and was used, instead, as an ordinary onomatological suffix.

4. With regard to *A*- and *B*-names (in I—IV), the relation between the names recorded is as follows:

|            |     |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|------------|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| <i>A</i> : | 72  | 32 | 22 | 40 | 24 | 101 | 26 | 25 | 14 | 18 | 24 | 26 | 38 | 30 | 109 |
| <i>B</i> : | 90  | 30 | 25 | 33 | 37 | 101 | 20 | 27 | 24 | 17 | 26 | 26 | 24 | 26 | 103 |
| I—IV :     | 162 | 62 | 47 | 73 | 61 | 202 | 46 | 52 | 38 | 35 | 50 | 52 | 62 | 56 | 212 |

Thus the distribution is fairly even.

5. A similar comparison between intelligible and unintelligible names is more interesting:

|            |     |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|------------|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| <i>a</i> : | 48  | 19 | 15 | 35 | 19 | 94  | 24 | 29 | 16 | 20 | 26 | 36 | 42 | 45 | 147 |
| <i>b</i> : | 117 | 44 | 32 | 39 | 45 | 118 | 26 | 28 | 28 | 16 | 26 | 20 | 28 | 20 | 91  |
| I—V :      | 165 | 63 | 47 | 74 | 64 | 212 | 50 | 57 | 44 | 36 | 52 | 56 | 70 | 65 | 238 |

The development is best illustrated by the figures of the first and the last period: during the former the unintelligible names are in the majority, during the latter the intelligible ones. The change takes place 900—950. At first sight this seems to contradict the indifference of later ages to the signification of names, which has been spoken of above, and it is of course possible that, under certain circumstances, an ancient intelligible name proved to be more long-lived than an unintelligible one. Yet it is improbable that intelligibility as such should have contributed very much to the preservation of a name; it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxons borrowed from the Bible and from Celtic languages names whose signification they did not know. The phenomenon is no doubt to be interpreted in a different way. There may have been several reasons for the apparent predilection for intelligible names seen during the last century of OE, but it would scarcely be too daring to see in this an influence from Scand. nomenclature with its numerous and obvious bynames. In discussing the separate names I have often shown that the corresponding name occurs as a name

or a byname, frequently both, in the Scand. stock of names. We need not therefore assume that the OE names in question were borrowed from Scand., but, owing to the intimate relations between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, it is very probable that in not a few cases we are concerned with OE names formed by analogy with Scand. intelligible names. A foreign influence of this kind would be easily accounted for, as the Scand. invaders spoke dialects and bore names which the Anglo-Saxons could understand without any difficulty.

This change was, it may be noted, not a very radical one, and is by no means to be compared with that caused by the Norman Conquest, but as a tendency it deserves attention. We must not forget that the investigation comprises only a relatively insignificant portion of the OE names, and therefore no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from the material here collected.

### III.

The first half of the 10th century is mentioned above as a rather important period in the history of the uncompounded names in OE, but so far nothing has been said about the most prominent change: the dislocation in the system of name-giving which seems to have taken place at that epoch.

In going through the OE chartularies one soon realizes in what a minority the uncompounded names are compared with the compound ones. Owing to their peculiar nature, the former are, however, easy to observe, and therefore one cannot fail to notice that at this time they practically disappear from the list of signatories. An investigation into the charters in BCS from c. AD 935 onwards shows that (native) uncompounded names are very rare, in spite of the great increase in the number of charters.

Thus it might appear as if BJÖRKMAN was right in his assumption that "es wurde sich bei einer Untersuchung zweifellos herausstellen, dass zur Zeit der nordischen Invasion der schablonenmässige *Wulfstantypus* in England so gut wie alleinherrschend war"<sup>1</sup>. That, in reality, this was not the case, has been demonstrated in the preceding inquiry. The question then presents itself, where the bulk of instances after c. AD 935 are to be found.

As far as I can see, the problem is connected with the social

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<sup>1</sup> Anglia Beibl. 1917 p. 214, note 1.

position of the signatories. The persons occurring in the lists of witnesses are, for the most part, kings, nobles and priests, that is, people belonging to the upper classes at that time<sup>1</sup>. That, among these people, names of the *Wulfstan*-type almost ousted the others during the first half of the 10th century, seems to indicate that the uncompounded names came to be looked upon as too commonplace, or even trivial. It is possible that they were still used in daily intercourse, but at any rate the signatories ceased to use them officially<sup>2</sup>. In spite of this, the simple names by no means disappeared altogether from the OE stock of names. Thus they are of frequent occurrence among moneyers<sup>3</sup>, both before and after 935. But where the names in question are specially frequent is in documents referring to serfs, the so-called manumissions<sup>4</sup>. The oldest manumissions date from the 10th century, but the majority are from the 11th. In those the uncompounded names seem to be very popular; KCD 1354, for instance, has 14 names of this sort. Several names are found in manumissions as ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, e. g. *Hwatu*, *Dolo*, *Eadugu*, *Gladu*; *Blunta*, *Geda*; *Golde* f., *Dudde* f.; *Dunne* m.; *Tottel*, *Bunel*; *Teolling*, *Tulling*, *Beoring*, *Roting*. Other names, which have not been recorded for a century or more, suddenly reappear among the lowest classes in late OE times, e. g. *Tata*, *Brada*, *Hega*; *Dunne* f., *Hwite* f., *Tate* f., *Lulle* f. A case in point is *Dud(d)a*, which is well recorded down to c. 920; after that time only a moneyer under Aethelred II and a 'gebur' from the 11th century bear this name<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ARONIUS, *Diplomat. Stud. über die ält. ags. Urk.* p. 43 ff., OMAN p. 368; HILKA p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, applies only to such uncompounded names as were used by the side of full names; in any case the uncompounded Christian names fell out of use in these circles. Cf. SOGIN p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to their great number, it has been assumed that the names on the coins do not denote the leading men, the contractors, but, instead, their suboperarii, the workmen. See LUSCHIN v. EBENGREUTH, *Hoops Reallex.* III p. 247; cf. also KEARY p. XXXIII, GRUEBER p. CIV, *Handbook* p. XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. KEMBLE, *The Saxons in England* I pp. 211 ff., 496 ff.

<sup>5</sup> That different classes in the community bear different sorts of names, is a phenomenon observable in various places; cf., e. g., MOREL in DAREMBERG's *Dict. des Antiquités* IV p. 90 f., BECHTEL, *Attische Frauennamen*, passim, THUMB, *Idg. Anz.* XIV p. 111, BRUGMANN, *Griech. Gramm.* p. 206, Anm. — It is of special interest to notice that in OWScand. the bynames had to a very large extent superseded the real names just among serfs and other persons of a low social position (KAHLE p. 146).



This does not mean to suggest that charters from the end of the OE period do not contain bearers of uncompounded names who were socially on a level with the *Offa's* and *Totta's* of earlier times. It is not inconceivable that the Scand. nomenclature with its *Ulf*, *Skule*, *Grim*, etc., contributed to this rehabilitation, not least under King *Cnut*.

In spite of this, one can scarcely help feeling that the uncompounded names had got a more trivial stamp, and this state of things probably continued far in the Middle Ages. Cf., for instance, Gower's well-known and often cited description of Wat Tyler's rebellion<sup>1</sup>:

*"Watte vocat, cui Thomme venit, neque Symme retardat,  
Betteque, Gibbe simul, Hykke venire jubent;  
Colle furit, quem Geffe juvat nocumenta parantes.  
Cum quibus ad dampnum Wille coire vovet.  
Grigge rapit, dum Dawe strepit, comes est quibus Hobbe,  
Lorkyn et in medio non minor esse putat:  
Hudde ferit, quem Judde terit, dum Tebbe minatur,  
Jakke domosque viros vellit et ense necat".*

Though the majority of these names are of Romance origin, they give us an idea of what were looked upon as typical peasant names in the 14th century.

That not a few OE uncompounded names survived as proper names in ME, has been shown by SUNDÉN, *Ellipt. words* p. 146 ff. Especially as family names, however, a great number of OE names are still extant in English. This was pointed out even by CAMDEN, *Remaines* p. 130 f.; in our own times the question has been dealt with by SKEAT in his paper "On the survival of Anglo-Saxon names as modern surnames"; cf. also WEEKLEY, *Romance of names* p. 56 ff. BARDSELEY's *Dictionary* also contains much material of interest.

This problem does not, however, fall within the scope of my work, and I may all the more fittingly leave it undiscussed, as a prominent expert on English family names is occupied with the investigation of this question<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Vox Clamantis* I 783 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WEEKLEY, *Surnames* p. 46.

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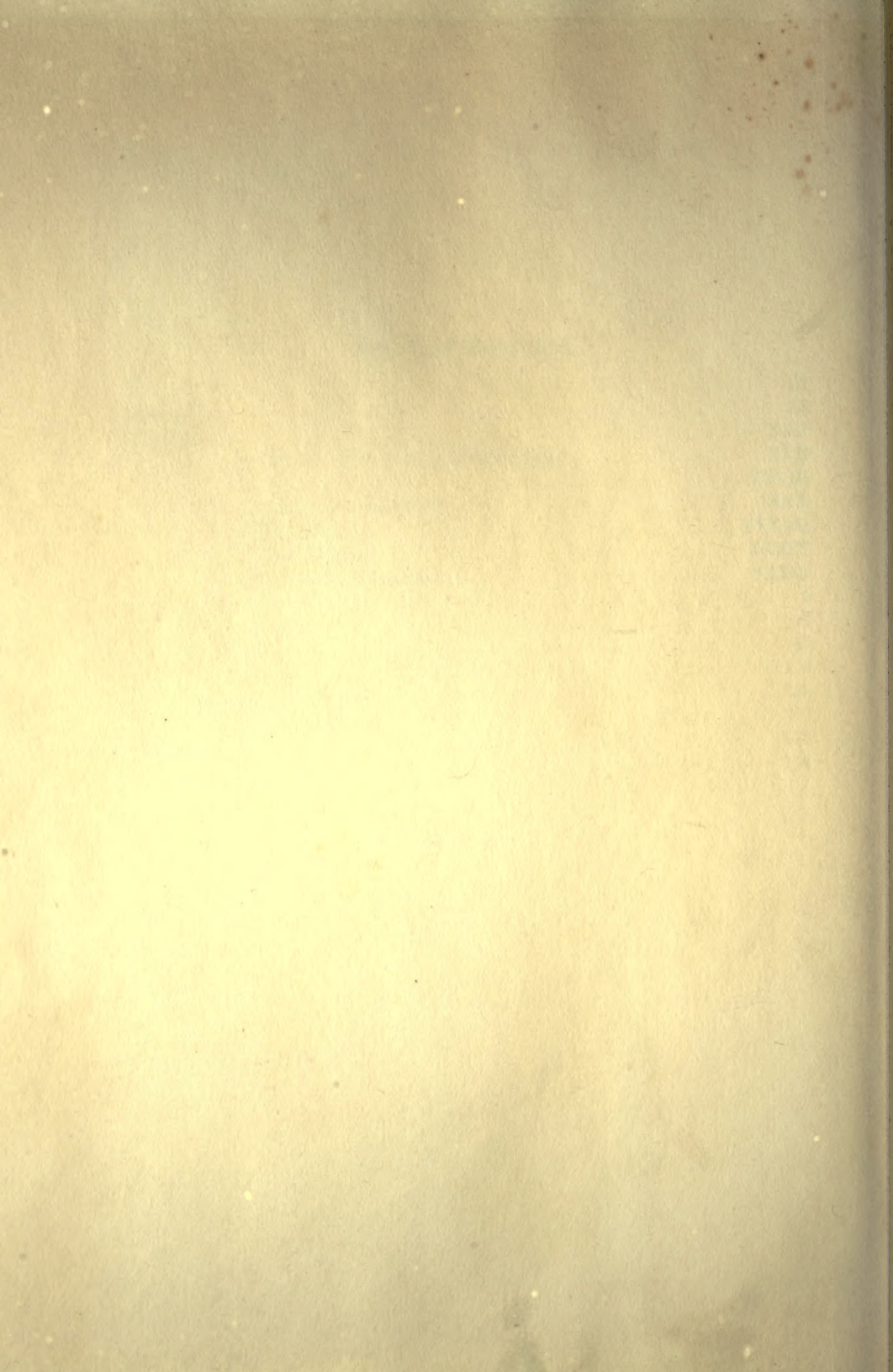
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